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Harvard College Library



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One half the income from this Legacy, which was received in 1880 under the will of

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of Waltham, Massachusetts, is to be expended for books for the College Library. The other half of the income is devoted to scholarships in Harvard University for the benefit of descendants of

HENRY BRIGHT, JR.,

who died at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1686. In the absence of such descendants, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.

List of Members

xi

Mason, Otis Tufton,	1777 Massachusetts Ave.
† Mendenhall, W. K.,	St. James Hotel.
Moore, General John, U. S. A.,	903 Sixteenth Street.
Morgan, James Dudley,	919 Fifteenth Street.
c Morris, Martin F.,	1314 Massachusetts Ave.
Morton, Robert H.,	General Land Office.
Newcomb, Professor Simon, U. S. N.,	1620 P Street.
c Nicolay, John G.,	212 B Street S. E.
† Norris, Thaddeus,	1751 N Street.
c Noyes, Theodore Williams,	1616 S Street.
Phillips, William Hallett,	1707 H Street.
c Powell, John Wesley,	910 M Street.
Powell, William Bramwell,	Franklin School.
† Prentiss, Daniel Webster,	1218 Ninth Street.
Proctor, John Robert,	Civil Service Commission.
Pulizzi, Mrs Irene E.,	2803 N Street.
† Repetti, George R.,	404 C Street S. E.
c Richards, Joseph Havens Cowles,	Georgetown University.
Richardson, Mrs. Charles Williamson,	1102 L Street.
Richardson, Francis Ashbury,	1308 Vermont Avenue.
† Richey, Stephen Olin,	732 Seventeenth Street.
Riddle, A. G.,	1116 Thirteenth Street.
c Riggs, E. Francis,	1311 Massachusetts Ave.
Rives, Mrs Jeannie Tree,	1818 Jefferson Place.
Robbins, Zenas Coleman,	1750 M Street.
c Ross, John Wesley,	The Varnum.
Sewall, Frank,	1618 Riggs Place.
Shute, Daniel Kerfoot,	Columbian University.
Smith, Richard,	501 D Street.
c Spofford, Ainsworth Rand,	1621 Massachusetts Ave.
Sterrett, James Macbride,	Columbian University.
Stetson, George Rochford,	1441 Massachusetts Ave.
Sunderland, Byron,	328 C Street.
Sylvester, Richard,	Headquarters Met. Police.
c Taggart, Hugh T.,	3249 N Street.
* Thatcher, Erastus.	
*c Toner, Joseph Meredith.	

† Voorhees, John H.,

2101 G Street.

Walcott, Charles Doolittle,	1746 Q Street.
Warner, Brainard Henry,	916 F Street.
* Webb, William Benning,	
c Weller, Michael I.,	400 Pennsylvania Ave. S. E.
*c Welling, James Clarke,	
Whitman, Benaiah Longley,	Columbian University.
Whittemore, Williams Clark,	1526 New Hampshire Ave.
† Whitney, Edward B.,	1720 P Street.
Willard, Henry A.,	1333 K Street.
Wilson, James Ormond,	1439 Massachusetts Ave.
Wilson, Thomas,	1218 Connecticut Avenue.
Woodward, Thomas P.,	507 E Street.

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RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Volume 1, pages 1-54

ORGANIZATION

AND

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1894-'95

OF THE

COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COMPILED BY

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

AND

SECRETARY

WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

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RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Volume I, No. 2, pages 55-118

UNWELCOME VISITORS TO WASHINGTON

AUGUST 24, 1814

BY

M. I. WELLER AND JAMES EWELL, M. D.

THE MILITARY AND PRIVATE SECRETARIES

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON

BY

MARY S. BEALL

WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
DECEMBER, 1895

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RECORDS

OF THE

Columbia Historical Society

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION, MARCH 9, 1894
TO FEBRUARY 1, 1897

VOLUME 1

WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1897

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OFFICERS

OFFICERS ELECTED

AT THE

Organizing Meeting, held April 12, 1894

President.....J. M. TONER

Vice-Presidents..... { GARDINER G. HUBBARD
 { AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD

Recording Secretary.....MARCUS BAKER

Corresponding Secretary.....M. I. WELLER

Treasurer.....E. FRANCIS RIGGS

Curator.....JAMES F. HOOD

Councilors..... { KATE FIELD, 4 years
 { W J MCGEE, 4 years
 { LAWRENCE GARDNER, 3 years
 { J. C. WELLING, 3 years *
 { JOHN G. NICOLAY, 2 years
 { A. B. HAGNER, 2 years
 { T. W. NOYES, 1 year
 { ELIZABETH B. JOHNSTON, 1 year

* Died September 4, 1894. Hon. John A. Kasson elected November 5, 1894, to fill the vacancy until the next annual election.

OFFICERS

OFFICERS ELECTED

AT THE

First Annual Meeting, held February 4, 1895

<i>President</i>	J. M. TONER
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD JOHN A. KASSON
<i>Recording Secretary</i>	MARCUS BAKER*
<i>Corresponding Secretary</i>	M. I. WELLER
<i>Treasurer</i>	E. FRANCIS RIGGS
<i>Curator</i>	JAMES F. HOOD
<i>Councilors</i>	{ T. W. NOYES, 4 years ELIZABETH B. JOHNSTON, 4 years KATE FIELD, 3 years † W J MCGEE, 3 years † LAWRENCE GARDNER, 2 years † J. ORMOND WILSON, 2 years † A. B. HAGNER, 1 year † JOHN G. NICOLAY, 1 year †

* Resigned October 7, 1895. Mrs Mary Stevens Beall elected to fill the vacancy until the next annual election.

† Holdover Councilors.

‡ Elected to fill out Dr Welling's unexpired term.

OFFICERS

OFFICERS ELECTED

AT THE

Second Annual Meeting, held February 3, 1896

President.....J. M. TONER*

Vice-Presidents { AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD
JOHN A. KASSON

Recording Secretary.....MARY STEVENS BEALL

Corresponding Secretary.....M. I. WELLER

Treasurer.....JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN

Curator.....JAMES F. HOOD

Councilors { A. B. HAGNER, 4 years
JOHN G. NICOLAY, 4 years †
T. W. NOYES, 3 years †
ELIZABETH B. JOHNSTON, 3 years †
KATE FIELD, 2 years † §
W J MCGEE, 2 years †
LAWRENCE GARDNER, 1 year †
JOHN G. NICOLAY, 1 year †

* Died July 29, 1896.

† Resigned January 4, 1897. Hugh T. Taggart elected to fill the vacancy until the next annual election.

‡ Holdover Councilors.

§ Died May 19, 1896. Marcus Baker elected October 26, 1896, to fill the vacancy until the next annual election.

OFFICERS

OFFICERS ELECTED

AT THE

Third Annual Meeting, held February 1, 1897

President.....JOHN A. KASSON

Vice-Presidents..... { AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD
A. B. HAGNER

Recording Secretary.....MARY STEVENS BEALL

Corresponding Secretary.....M. I. WELLER

Treasurer.....JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN

Curator.....JAMES F. HOOD.

Councilors..... { LEWIS J. DAVIS, 4 years
J. ORMOND WILSON, 4 years
SAMUEL C. BUSEY, 3 years *
HUGH T. TAGGART, 3 years †
ELIZABETH B. JOHNSTON, 2 years ‡
T. W. NOYES, 2 years †
MARCUS BAKER, 1 year §
W J MCGEE, 1 year †

* To fill out Judge Hagner's unexpired term.

† To fill out John G. Nicolay's unexpired term.

‡ Holdover Councilors.

§ To fill out Kate Field's unexpired term.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

From its organization to March 31, 1897

* Deceased	† Resigned	c Charter	l Life	h Honorary
	Abbe, Cleveland,		2017 I Street.	
	Adams, Henry,		1603 H Street.	
	Adler, Cyrus,		943 K Street.	
	Alexander, Mrs Sallie Kennedy,		1207 N Street.	
†	Allen, Andrew Hussey,		Department of State.	
	Alvord, Henry Elijah,		Agricultural Department.	
	Ames, John Griffith,		1600 Thirteenth Street.	
	Baker, Frank,		1804 Columbia Road.	
c	Baker, Marcus,		1905 Sixteenth Street.	
	Ballinger, Mrs Madison Adams,		1303 Clifton Street.	
	Barnard, Job,		1306 Rhode Island Avenue.	
†	Bartlett, William A.,			
	Beall, Mrs Mary Stevens,		1643 Thirty-second Street.	
†	Beiler, Samuel L.,		1425 New York Avenue.	
	Bell, Alexander Graham,		1601 Thirty-fifth Street.	
	Bell, Charles James,		1405 G Street.	
	Binney, Charles C.,		Department of Justice.	
	Blount, Henry Fitch,		The Oaks, 3101 U Street.	
	Bolton, Henry Carrington,		Cosmos Club.	
	Brandebury, Lemuel A.,		1410 Columbia Street.	
	Britton, Alexander Thompson,		622 F Street.	
	Brooke, Richard N.,		1700 Pennsylvania Ave.	
	Brown, Glenn,		918 F Street.	
	Bryan, William B.,		1330 Eighteenth Street.	
†	Burgess, Edward Sanford,		New York City.	
c	Burnett, Swan Moses,		916 Seventeenth Street.	
	Busey, Samuel Claggett,		1545 I street.	
	Byington, Miss Marie E.,		1433 Rhode Island Avenue	

(viii)

† Cabell, Mrs Mary V. E.,	1761 N Street.
† Cabell, William Daniel,	1761 N Street.
† Clare, Miss Virginia,	1006 Sixteenth Street.
Clark, Allen C.,	607 F Street.
Clarke, Daniel B.,	1422 Massachusetts Ave.
Clark, A. Howard,	Smithsonian Institution.
Clarke, I. Edwards,	Bureau of Education.
* Clephane, Lewis.	
Clephane, Walter C.,	1922 Sixteenth Street.
Cole, Theodore Lee,	12 Corcoran Building.
Colton, Francis,	1635 Connecticut Avenue.
Cox, Walter S.,	1636 I Street.
Crisfield, Arthur,	1725 G Street.
Crissey, S. L.,	1426 Massachusetts Ave.
Curtis, William Eleroy,	1801 Connecticut Avenue.
Cutter, Edwin C.,	1408 G Street.
† Dahlgren, Mrs Madelaine Vinton,	1325 Massachusetts Ave.
† Darlington, Joseph J.,	903 Thirteenth Street.
Davies, Charles,	1915 Sixth Street.
Davis, Eldred G.,	2211 R Street.
Davis, Lewis J.,	1411 Massachusetts Ave.
Dean, Dr Richard Crain, U. S. N.,	1736 I Street.
De Haas, Wills,	—
Dieudonné, Mrs Florence Carpenter,	122 Maryland Ave. N. E.
Dieudonné, Frank J.,	122 Maryland Ave. N. E.
Dodge, William C.,	116 B Street N. E.
Duhamel, James F.,	Atlantic Building.
Edson, John Joy,	1324 Sixteenth Street.
Emery, Matthew G.,	207 I Street.
* Fague, G. M.	
Fendall, Reginald,	1106 Vermont Avenue.
Ffoulke, Charles Mather,	2013 Massachusetts Ave.
* ^c Field, Miss Kate.	
Fletcher, Miss Alice Cunningham,	214 First Street S. E.
Fletcher, Robert,	The Portland.
^c Ford, Worthington C.,	Metropolitan Club.
Gallaudet, Edward Miner,	Kendall Green.
Galt, Matthew W.,	1409 H Street.
Galt, William,	720 Ninth Street.
Gannett, Henry,	U. S. Geological Survey.
^c Gardner, Lawrence,	510 I Street.

- c Godding, William Whitney, Gov't Hospital for Insane.
 *c Goode, George Brown.
 Gore, James Howard, Columbian University.
 Greely, Gen. Adolphus Washington, U.S.A., 1914 G Street.
 Green, Bernard Richardson, 1738 N Street.
 * Green, Osceola C.
 Gurley, William Burton, 1401 Sixteenth Street.
- c Hagner, Alexander Burton, 1818 H Street.
 c Harris, William Torrey, 1303 P Street.
 Hearst, Mrs Phœbe Apperson, 1400 New Hampshire Ave.
 † Holden, Raymond T., 802 Sixth Street S. W.
 c Hood, James Franklin, 1017 O Street.
 Hopkins, Archibald, Court of Claims.
 h Howison, Robert R., Fredericksburg, Virginia.
 c Hubbard, Gardiner Greene, 1328 Connecticut Avenue.
 Hume, Frank, 1235 Massachusetts Ave.
 c Hurst, Right Rev. John F., 1701 Massachusetts Ave.
 l Hutcheson, David, Library of Congress.
- Janney, Bernard Taylor, 1671 Thirty-first Street.
 Jeffords, Tracy L., City Hall.
 Jewell, Claudius Buchanan, 1324 Vermont Avenue.
 c Johnston, Miss Elizabeth Bryant, 1320 Florida Avenue.
 Johnston, Miss Frances Benjamin, 1332 V Street.
- c Kasson, John Adams, 1726 I Street.
 Kauffmann, Samuel Hay, 1421 Massachusetts Ave.
 c Keane, Right Rev. John Joseph, 707 H Street.
 King, Mrs Horatio,
- Lambert, Tallmadge A., 1219 Massachusetts Ave.
 Lang, John C., 1320 F Street.
 c Langley, Samuel Pierpont, Metropolitan Club.
 Leiter, Levi Zeigler, 1500 New Hampshire Ave.
 Lenman, Miss Isobel Hunter, 1100 Twelfth Street.
 Lincoln, Nathan Smith, 1514 H Street.
 † Lowdermilk, William Harrison, 1424 F Street.
 Lowndes, James, 1707 Rhode Island Ave.
- Mackay-Smith, Alexander, 1325 Sixteenth Street.
 † McCammon, Joseph Kay, 1324 Nineteenth Street.
 c McGee, W J, Bur. of Amer. Ethnology.
 McGuire, Frederick Bauders, 1333 Connecticut Avenue.
 McKim, Rev. Dr R. H., 1621 K Street.

ORGANIZATION

AND

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1894-'95

OF THE

COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Compiled by the Publication Committee and Secretary**

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* Publication Committee: W J McGee, chairman, Ainsworth R. Spofford, Theodore W. Noyes; Recording Secretary, Marcus Baker.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE FIRST MEETING

On Friday, March 9, 1894, 4:30 p m, a conference was held in the President's room in Columbian University, Washington, District of Columbia, pursuant to the following invitation:

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
WASHINGTON, *March 6, 1894.*

SIR: At the request of several gentlemen I have the honor to invite your attendance at a conference in the President's room of Columbian University, corner H and 15th streets, on Friday afternoon, March 9, at 4:20 p m. The purpose of the conference is exchange of views as to the best means of gathering and preserving the history of the national capital.

Yours with great respect,
(Signed)

W J McGEE.

There were present Marcus Baker, Kate Field, Lawrence Gardner, G. Brown Goode, A. B. Hagner, W J McGee, Theodore W. Noyes, J. M. Toner, A. R. Spofford, M. I. Weller, and James C. Welling.

Mr McGee called the meeting to order and stated its purpose to be "Exchange of views as to the best means of gathering and preserving the history of the national capital." He suggested, in general terms, three courses:

First. Do nothing;

Second. Increase the membership and widen the scope of existing organizations;

Third. Form a new organization for the specific purpose of gathering and preserving the history of the national capital.

He then suggested a temporary organization to facilitate discussion.

On motion of Dr Toner, President Welling was elected temporary chairman and Mr Baker temporary secretary.

On assuming the chair President Welling referred briefly to previous movements of related purpose, and read the names of persons invited to attend this conference.

It was moved by Dr Toner that "In the opinion of this meeting it is advisable to form an historical association."

In discussing this motion, Kate Field inquired whether the object of the proposed association was not so closely related to that of the Memorial Association of the District of Columbia as to endanger conflict of interests.

Judge Hagner, a member of the Memorial Association, replying, stated the chief object of that association to be the preservation and suitable marking of objects of historical interest, while the field of the proposed society would necessarily be wider. He also mentioned attending a recent meeting of the Memorial Association at which the subject was discussed, and stated the prevailing opinion at that meeting, and his own conviction, to be that the two societies would not conflict, but might "coëxist to mutual advantage." He added that there is no feeling on the part of members of the Memorial Association against the present movement.

Mr McGee stated that he had conferred with several members and officers of the Memorial Association and had found no opposition to the formation of an historical society. He spoke also of the American Historical Association, of which several members were present, as one of the organizations with which coalition might be sought if deemed wise.

Mr Weller supported Dr Toner's motion, mentioning as an illustration of the need of more accurate historical records the destruction of Anacostia bridge, long supposed to be the work of British troops, but shown by trustworthy records to have been wrought by our own countrymen.

Dr Toner inquired if Miss Field knew of any feeling antagonistic to the movement, to which she replied that she had no definite knowledge of such feeling, but had an impression that some might be dormant in an existing society of related aim.

In reply to an inquiry, Mr Spofford, a member of both the Memorial Association and the American Historical Association, expressed himself as heartily in favor of organizing a local historical society, which, he believed, would in no way antagonize either of those eminently useful associations.

Dr Toner's motion was then adopted unanimously.

For the new organization Mr McGee proposed the name Columbia (or Columbian) Historical Association (or Society). Mr Baker suggested Historical Society of Washington. After brief discussion, the name COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY was adopted.

On motion of Dr Toner, it was voted that a committee of five, of which the temporary president should be chairman, be appointed by the chair to draft a constitution.

On motion of Mr Weller, it was voted that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to arrange for chartering or incorporation.

On motion of Mr McGee, it was voted that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to designate offices and nominate officers.

Judge Hagner referred to the interdependence of the work of the three committees; whereupon it was moved that they be instructed to coöperate and, when ready to report, to advise the Secretary, who should call a meeting. The motion was adopted.

The list of persons invited to attend this conference was then read, with remarks concerning each by Mr McGee, who stated that, except those absent from the city, all but two had responded in person, by letter, by oral message, or by representative, and that all responses indicated an active interest in the movement. (This list is appended hereunto.)

It was thereupon voted that the thirty-six persons invited to the conference be regarded as founders and their names included in the charter.

On motion of Mr Weller, it was voted that when the conference adjourn it be subject to call.

The chairman then announced the following committees :

On Constitution—James C. Welling, chairman ; A. B. Hagner, A. R. Spofford, J. M. Toner, John G. Nicolay.

On Charter—M. F. Morris, chairman ; G. Brown Goode, John W. Ross, Hugh T. Taggart, Lawrence Gardner.

On Officers—W J McGee, chairman ; Gardiner G. Hubbard, James F. Hood, Theodore W. Noyes, M. I. Weller.

The signatures of those present were then attached to a copy of the call and list of persons invited, and at 5:30 p m the conference adjourned.

MARCUS BAKER,
Temporary Secretary.

FOUNDERS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(List of 36 Persons to whom Invitations were sent)

1. Henry Adams, 1603 H street.
2. Marcus Baker, U. S. Geological Survey.
3. Swan M. Burnett, 1770 Mass. Ave.
4. William E. Edmonston, 1220 Mass. Ave.
5. Kate Field, The Shoreham.
6. Worthington C. Ford, Metropolitan Club.
7. Melville W. Fuller, 1800 Mass. Ave.
8. Lawrence Gardner, The Shoreham.
9. William W. Godding, Gov't Hospital for the Insane.
10. G. Brown Goode, U. S. National Museum.
11. Alexander B. Hagner, 1818 H street.
12. Teunis S. Hamlin, 1306 Conn. Ave.
13. William T. Harris, 914 Twenty-third street.

14. John Hay, 800 Sixteenth street.
15. James F. Hood, 1017 O street.
16. Gardiner G. Hubbard, 1328 Conn. Ave.
17. John F. Hurst, 1701 Mass. Ave.
18. Elizabeth Bryant Johnston, 1320 Florida Ave.
19. John J. Keane, Catholic University.
20. Samuel P. Langley, Metropolitan Club.
21. Henry Cabot Lodge, 1765 Mass. Ave.
22. W J McGee, Bureau of American Ethnology.
23. Randolph H. McKim, 1621 K street.
24. Martin F. Morris, 1314 Mass. Ave.
25. John G. Nicolay, 212 B street southeast.
26. Theodore W. Noyes, 1616 S street.
27. John W. Powell, U. S. Geological Survey.
28. J. Havens Richards, Georgetown University.
29. E. Francis Riggs, 1311 Mass. Ave.
30. John W. Ross, office District Commissioners.
31. Ainsworth R. Spofford, 1621 Mass. Ave.
32. Hugh T. Taggart, 3249 N street.
33. Joseph M. Toner, 1445 Mass. Ave.
34. Michael I. Weller, 400 Penn. Ave. southeast.
35. James C. Welling, 1302 Conn. Ave.
36. William L. Wilson, 1010 N street.

MINUTES OF SECOND OR ORGANIZING MEETING

Meeting held in the President's room, Columbian University, Thursday, April 12, 1894, 4:30 p m. There were present Marcus Baker, Kate Field, Lawrence Gardner, W. W. Godding, A. B. Hagner, W. T. Harris, J. F. Hood, Gardiner G. Hubbard, Elizabeth B. Johnston, W J McGee, John G. Nicolay, A. R. Spofford, J. M. Toner, and M. I. Weller.

Mr Spofford read a letter from President Welling expressing regret at his enforced absence through illness, and asking him, Mr Spofford, to call the meeting to order.

On motion of Dr Toner, Mr Spofford was elected chairman *pro tem*.

The minutes of the last meeting were then read and approved.

On behalf of the three committees appointed March 9, Dr Toner made a statement and submitted drafts of a constitution and of articles of incorporation, which papers were read by the Secretary.

On motion of Mr Baker, it was voted to incorporate under the general law and in accordance with the articles just read, which had been prepared by Justice Morris.

Mr Gardner moved the adoption of the constitution as reported, and, after brief discussion, the motion prevailed; and Chairman Spofford then announced that the preliminary organization of the Columbia Historical Society was completed, and that the Society was ready for the transaction of such business as might properly come before it.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers by ballot, in accordance with the constitution, with the following result:

President, Dr J. M. Toner.

Vice-Presidents, Gardiner G. Hubbard.

A. R. Spofford.

Recording Secretary, Marcus Baker.

Corresponding Secretary, M. I. Weller.

Treasurer, E. Francis Riggs.

Curator, James F. Hood.

Councilors, 4 years, Kate Field.

4 " W J McGee.

3 " Lawrence Gardner.

3 " J. C. Welling.

2 " John G. Nicolay.

2 " A. B. Hagner.

1 " T. W. Noyes.

1 " Elizabeth B. Johnston.

The Secretary was then authorized to furnish the press with an account of the meeting, and at 6:30 p m the meeting adjourned.

MARCUS BAKER,

Recording Secretary.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Adopted April 12, 1894)

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be styled THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ART. 2. Its objects shall be the collection, preservation, and diffusion of knowledge respecting the history and topography of the District of Columbia and national history and biography.

ART. 3. This Society shall consist of active, corresponding, and honorary members. Active members shall be residents of the District. Honorary members shall be those eminent in historical attainments resident elsewhere.

ART. 4. The officers of this Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and eight Councilors, who together shall constitute an executive body, to be called the Board of Managers. A quorum of the Board shall consist of eight members.

ART. 5. These officers shall be elected annually to serve for one year or until their successors are chosen, except that the eight Councilors shall be divided into four groups, two to be chosen for one year, two for two years, two for three years, and two for four years; and after the first election two shall be elected annually to serve four years. All officers shall be chosen from among the resident or life members, by ballot, without formal nominations. A majority of active members present shall be required to elect, and no member whose dues are unpaid shall vote. The Board of Managers shall have the power to fill all vacancies on the Board. Members thus appointed shall serve until the next annual meeting.

ART. 6. New members may be proposed through the Recording Secretary, by two members, in writing, and the Board of Managers shall vote upon proposed members at

their next ensuing meeting. No nominee shall be elected against whom three negative ballots are cast.

ART. 7. An annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Monday in February, at which reports, the election of officers, and other business shall be in order. The regular meetings shall be held on the first Monday evening of each month, at eight o'clock, except during the summer adjournment, to be announced by the Board of Managers. At each regular meeting papers pertinent to the objects of the Society and remarks thereon shall be in order, and the Board of Managers shall determine the order for each meeting.

ART. 8. The Board of Managers shall have power to appoint committees on communications, the publication of papers, library and other collections, expenditure of funds, or for any other purposes, and shall exercise all governing powers not otherwise provided for in this constitution.

ART. 9. The annual dues of active members shall be five dollars, payable in advance, and the payment of thirty-five dollars at any one time shall confer membership for life; and all receipts from life members shall be invested as a permanent fund, the interest only to be used. All dues shall be paid to the Treasurer. No debts shall be contracted nor payments made except by authority of the Board of Managers.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall deposit all moneys received by him in bank to the credit of the Society, and his drafts on this fund shall be countersigned by the President. The accounts of the Treasurer shall be rendered annually and audited by a committee of three members, not officers of the Society, appointed by the President.

ART. 11. This constitution may be amended by a majority of members present at an annual meeting, but notice of any proposed amendment, which must be signed by not less than three members, shall be submitted in writing at least one month previous, at a regular meeting, to the Secretary, who shall mail a printed copy of such amend-

ment to every member at least one week prior to the annual meeting.

Adopted by joint committee March 31, 1894.

(Signed)

M. I. WELLER,

Sec. pro Tem.

Adopted by the Society April 12, 1894.

(Signed)

MARCUS BAKER,

Recording Secretary.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Received for record 11:30 a m, May 3, 1894, and recorded in Liber No 6, folio 416 et seq., "Acts of Incorporation" for the District of Columbia.

GEO. F. SCHAYER, *Dep. Recorder.*

Know all men by these presents that we, the undersigned, 1, Marcus Baker; 2, Swan M. Burnett; 3, Worthington C. Ford; 4, Kate Field; 5, Lawrence Gardner; 6, William W. Godding; 7, G. Brown Goode; 8, Alexander B. Hagner; 9, William T. Harris; 10, James F. Hood; 11, John F. Hurst; 12, Gardiner G. Hubbard; 13, John J. Keane; 14, Elizabeth B. Johnston; 15, John A. Kasson; 16, W J McGee; 17, Samuel P. Langley; 18, Martin F. Morris; 19, John G. Nicolay; 20, Theodore W. Noyes; 21, John W. Powell; 22, J. Havens Richards; 23, E. Francis Riggs; 24, John W. Ross; 25, Ainsworth R. Spofford; 26, Hugh T. Taggart; 27, Joseph M. Toner; 28, James C. Welling; 29, Michael I. Weller, being desirous to establish in the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, a society or organization for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and diffusing knowledge respecting the history and topography of the District of Columbia and national history and biography, and for such cognate purposes as may be proper, do hereby associate ourselves as a body corporate, under the general incorporation act of the Congress of the United States enacted for the District of Columbia; and we do hereby certify, in pursuance of said act, as follows:

First. The name or title by which such Society shall be known in law is "The Columbia Historical Society."

Second. The term for which said Society is organized and for which it is intended to exist is nine hundred and ninety-nine years.

Third. The particular business and objects of the Society are the collection, preservation, and diffusion of knowledge respecting the history and topography of the District of Columbia and national history and biography; and, in general, the transaction of any business pertinent to a historical society at the national capital.

Fourth. The officers of the Society for the first year of its existence and thereafter until changed by amendment of its constitution shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and eight Councilors, who together shall constitute an executive body to be called the Board of Managers.

In testimony whereof we, the undersigned, have hereto set our names and affixed our seals, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, on the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four (1894).

MARCUS BAKER.
SWAN M. BURNETT.
WORTHINGTON C. FORD.
KATE FIELD.
LAWRENCE GARDNER.
W. W. GODDING.
G. BROWN GOODE.
A. B. HAGNER.
W. T. HARRIS.
JAMES F. HOOD.
JOHN F. HURST.
GARDINER G. HUBBARD.
JOHN J. KEANE.
ELIZABETH B. JOHNSTON.
JOHN A. KASSON.

W J MCGEE.
S. P. LANGLEY.
MARTIN F. MORRIS.
JOHN G. NICOLAY.
THEODORE W. NOYES.
JOHN W. POWELL.
J. HAVENS RICHARDS.
E. FRANCIS RIGGS.
JOHN W. ROSS.
A. R. SPOFFORD.
HUGH T. TAGGART.
J. M. TONER.
JAMES C. WELLING.
MICHAEL I. WELLER.

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1894-'95

ABSTRACT OF MINUTES

3d meeting.

May 7, 1894.

Held at the residence of the President, Dr J. M. Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, Washington, 8 o'clock p m. About forty persons present.

By direction of the Board of Managers, the Constitution was read for the information of members.

President Toner and Vice-President Spofford each read an address on the general objects and purposes of the Columbia Historical Society (printed on pages 21-44).

Adjourned at 9:15 p m.

4th meeting.

October 1, 1894.

Held at the home of Dr Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8 p m. About twenty-five persons present.

Mr Marcus Baker presented an oral communication on "The Boundary of the District of Columbia." It was discussed by Messrs Kasson, Weller, Stewart, Galt, Morgan, and others.

Dr James D. Morgan exhibited two autograph letters from President Jefferson to Major L'Enfant, written in 1791.

Adjourned at 9:30.

5th meeting.

November 5, 1894.

Held at the home of Dr Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8 p m. About forty persons present.

Mr M. I. Weller read a paper on "Dr James Ewell and the capture of Washington in 1814." The paper was discussed by Messrs Haguer and Busey.

Adjourned at 9:30.

6th meeting.

December 3, 1894.

Held at the home of Dr Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8 p m. About thirty persons present.

On behalf of the Board of Managers, Judge Hagner read an obituary notice of the late Dr James C. Welling, one of the founders and officers of the society (see page 45). It was accompanied by the following resolutions, which were adopted :

Resolved, That by the death of Dr James C. Welling the Columbia Historical Society has lost one of its most useful and distinguished members, and his associates a valued friend, whose loss we shall ever deplore ;

Resolved, That the foregoing minute, with these resolutions, shall be entered at large on our record, and that a copy of them shall be sent to his widow and daughter, with the assurance of our unfeigned regret at their afflictive bereavement.

Mr William B. Bryan then read a paper entitled " Washington in 1800 ; new facts from unpublished letters." This paper was discussed by Messrs Weller and Hagner and by Dr Anita Newcomb McGee.

Adjourned at 9:30.

7th meeting.

January 7, 1895.

Held at the home of Dr Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8 p m. About forty persons present.

Miss Mary Stevens Beall read a paper on the military and private secretaries of George Washington. The paper was discussed by Dr Gallaudet.

Mr J. S. Diller presented a communication entitled " Staughton Street *versus* Stoughton Street."

Adjourned at 9:15.

8th meeting. FIRST ANNUAL MEETING. *February 4, 1895.*

Held at the home of Dr Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8:20 p. m. Fourteen members present.

The report of the Treasurer was presented and referred to an auditing committee, consisting of J. O. Wilson, T. L. Cole, and W. K. Mendenhall.

The reports of the Secretaries and of the Curator were then read and accepted. (For reports see pages 15-20.)

Election of officers for the ensuing year was then held, with the following result :

President, J. M. Toner.

Vice-Presidents, A. R. Spofford,

John A. Kasson.

Recording Secretary, Marcus Baker.

Corresponding Secretary, M. I. Weller.

Treasurer, E. Francis Riggs.

Curator, James F. Hood.

Councilor for 4 years, T. W. Noyes.

4 years, Elizabeth Bryant Johnston.

3 years, Kate Field.*

3 years, W J McGee.*

2 years, Lawrence Gardner.*

2 years, J. O. Wilson.

1 year, A. B. Hagner.*

1 year, John G. Nicolay.*

The auditing committee, by its chairman, Mr Wilson, reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been duly examined and found correct. The reports of this committee and of the Treasurer were then adopted.

An informal conference was then had on the general objects of the Society, participated in by Messrs Kasson, McGee, Weller, Baker, and Toner.

The rough minutes of the meeting were then read, and at 10 o'clock the Society adjourned.

MARCUS BAKER,
Recording Secretary.

* Holdover councilors.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical Society:

I have the honor to submit this the first annual report of the Treasurer, showing the receipts and disbursements of funds for the year ending this day. The total receipts from the organization of the Society to date are \$475, and the expenditures \$48.85, leaving a balance on hand of \$426.15. With the report is submitted a balance-sheet showing details of receipts and disbursements, and accompanied by bank book, checks, and vouchers.

Respectfully submitted,

E. FRANCIS RIGGS,
Treasurer.

February 4, 1895.

The Treasurer in Account with the Columbia Historical Society.

Dr.		Cr.	
	1895.	1895.	
To annual dues of 86 members, at \$5.	\$430 00	Judd & Detweiler, for printing notices of meetings, circulars, etc.	\$25 00
To one donation*.....	10 00	Marcus Baker, Secretary, for postage, record books, stationery, etc.	16 85
To dues from one life member	35 00	Clerical services.....	7 00
Total receipts.....	\$475 00	Total expenditures..	\$48 85
		Balance.....	426 15
			\$475 00

* From Miss Cornelia Horsford, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

We, the undersigned, appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts, certify that we have performed that duty and find the above-stated account to be correct, and that properly approved vouchers for all expenditures are on file.

J. ORMOND WILSON, *Chairman.*

T. L. COLE.

W. K. MENDENHALL.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARIES

Your secretaries respectfully submit this their first annual report for the period beginning with the organization of the Society and ending with and including this the first annual meeting.

The first recorded act in the organization of our Society was a letter sent out March 6, 1894, to 36 persons, inviting them to a conference as to the desirability of forming an historical society in Washington. Nearly all these persons had been seen in advance and expressed themselves in favor of the movement. Responding to this call, 11 persons met at Columbian University on the afternoon of March 9, and unanimously agreed after conference that it was advisable to form an organization. The usual steps for organizing were then taken, committees being appointed to draft constitution, arrange for incorporating, etc.

On April 12 the organizing meeting was held, the constitution adopted, and officers elected.

Signatures to the articles of incorporation were then obtained, and on May 3, 1894, the articles were duly filed, bearing the signatures of 29 of the 36 persons originally invited. Thus the Society became legally organized May 3, 1894, with 29 incorporators or charter members.

Since organization the Board of Managers has elected to membership 132 persons; one to honorary membership and

the remainder to active membership. Of these, however, but 66 qualified. This number added to 29, the number of charter members, makes a total of 95. Of this number 3 have resigned and one has died—Dr James C. Welling, on September 4, 1894. Thus the total membership at the beginning was 29 and at the end of the first year 91, classed as active, 90; honorary, 1; corresponding, 0.

The Society has held seven meetings. In this number is included the original conference, March 9, and the organizing meeting of April 12, both of which were held in Columbian University. The remaining five meetings were held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue. At these five meetings eight papers have been presented, being one each from eight persons; and twelve persons have participated in the discussion of them. At these five meetings for the reading and discussion of papers and exhibition of articles of historical interest, the average attendance was 35, the largest being 40, and the smallest 25.

The Board of Managers, which consists of fifteen persons, to whom all the business of the Society is entrusted, has held eight meetings. The average attendance at these meetings was eight, the largest eleven, and the smallest five. The vacancy in the board caused by the death of Dr Welling was filled by the election of Hon. John A. Kasson.

The only publication made was that of a leaflet or circular containing the constitution, articles of incorporation, and list of officers. A plan of publication has, however, been carefully prepared, considered, and adopted, and it is expected that the first formal publication of the Society will appear in the near future.

(Signed)

MARCUS BAKER,

M. I. WELLER,

Secretaries.

February 4, 1895.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

To the Curator belongs the duty of receiving and caring for the collections made by the Society. To him also falls such correspondence as grows out of or is incident to such collections. No special plan has yet been devised or put in operation for the systematic gathering of historical material. Meanwhile, however, material begins to gather almost spontaneously. Letters of acknowledgment to the donors have been sent for each gift received. Fifteen books, about twenty pamphlets and miscellaneous papers, and one coin were presented during the year.

Following is a list of the Society's acquisitions during the year :

1. CASS (LEWIS). A discourse before the American Historical Society, January 30, 1836. 8vo, Washington, 1836.

2. STONE (HORATIO). Addresses before the Washington Art Association. 8vo, Washington, 1858.

3. WARDEN (D. B.). A chorographical and statistical description of the District of Columbia. 8vo, Paris, 1816.

4. Methodist Magazine (The) for the year 1814. 8vo, Dublin.

5. NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Collections of, for 1809. Vol. 1. 8vo, New York, 1811.

6. TAX RECEIPTS. (a) Receipt of Richard Duvall, dated September 6, 1817, for taxes collected on property in Prince George's county, Maryland, assessed to Will Pumphrey.

(b) Receipt of John Frank for taxes for the year 1821, collected on real estate and on one male slave in the District of Columbia, assessed to Will Pumphrey.

(c) Receipt of William Ingle, dated February 20, 1823, for taxes collected on real estate of Will Pumphrey in the District of Columbia, for the years 1819 and 1820.

7. DOG LICENSE. License to Joseph W. Beck to keep two dogs in the District of Columbia, dated February 15, 1838, and signed by Peter Force, mayor.

8. ALMANACS. Several almanacs and miscellaneous pamphlets.

(Numbers 1 to 8 presented by Mr M. I. Weller.)

9. KING PLATS (The) of the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia. 1803. Large folio. (Presented by Hon. Martin F. Morris.)

10. BAKER (MARCUS). Surveys and maps of the District of Columbia. Published by the National Geographic Society. 8vo, Washington, 1894. (Presented by the author.)

11. LAWS. (a) Digest of the general acts of the City of Washington. 1818.

(b) Digest of the laws of the corporation of the City of Washington, by S. Burch. 1823.

(c) Laws of the corporation of the City of Washington, by A. Rothwell. 1833.

(d) Corporation laws of the City of Washington, by J. W. Sheahan. 1853.

(e) Same. 1860.

(f) Revised Code of the District of Columbia. 1857.

(g) Laws in force in the District of Columbia. 1868.

(h) Laws of the United States. 5 vols. 1815.

(i) Rules of Practice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. 1863.

12. MAPS of the District of Columbia and City of Washington and Plats of the Squares and Lots of the City of Washington. Folio, 1852.

13. CENSUS. Manuscript, family schedules of enumeration, district No. 45, District of Columbia, by J. A. Hayward. 1890.

14. U. S. NAVAL OBSERVATORY, instruments and publications of. 4to, 1876.

15. ALL SOULS CHURCH. Annual Reports. (A number.)

16. BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Reports. (A number.)

(Numbers 11 to 16 presented by Mr John A. Hayward.)

17. SMITH (Captain JOHN). Map of Virginia. 1606. Facsimile reproduction.

18. DEATH WARRANT. Warrant to execute King Charles I.
1648. Fac-simile reproduction.

19. DEATH WARRANT. Warrant to execute Mary Stuart,
Queen of Scots. 1587. Fac-simile reproduction.

20. VIEW of Washington. Fac-simile reproduction.

(Numbers 17 to 20 presented by the Norris Peters Company.)

21. WASHINGTON, D. C., with its points of interest illustrated. Published by the Mercantile Illustrating Co., New York.

(Presented by Mr Charles G. Sloan.)

22. COIN. An English half penny, minted in the reign of George II, found among the ruins of David Burns' cottage when that building was demolished.

(Presented by Mr Gilman M. Fague.)

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES F. HOOD,
Curator.

February 4, 1895.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

PRESIDENT J. M. TONER, M. D.

[Delivered before the Society May 7, 1894]

Ladies and Gentlemen and Members of the Columbia Historical Society :

To you I bow my most grateful acknowledgments for the honor of the position I occupy before you tonight. I presume it is in the nature of a recognition of the interest I have taken in our local historical matters, but I fully appreciate the fact that even in good enterprises neither zeal nor earnestness can serve as an equivalent for knowledge and experience. Honestly distrusting my ability to discharge with proper efficiency the imposed trust, I shall nevertheless give to the Society my most loyal adhesion and exert my best efforts to promote its purposes. I heartily wish, however, that a more capable and eloquent member stood in my place, whose comprehensive knowledge of the requirements essential to the founding and equipping of a useful historical society, and whose words of wisdom and encouragement might not only point out the numerous channels along which the more desirable studies may be prosecuted profitably, but also arouse enthusiasm among the members and friends of this organization and suggest the most judicious methods for promoting its interests.

In obedience to the direction of the Board of Managers, I shall endeavor to perform the part assigned to me as best I can. Without the least affectation, however, I must crave

not only your assistance, but also your indulgence and charity for any shortcoming that may be in this inaugural communication, or may at any time discover itself to the Society in the discharge of my official duty.

The second article of the constitution we have adopted briefly outlines the purposes of the Columbia Historical Society to be "The collection, preservation, and diffusion of knowledge respecting the history and topography of the District of Columbia and national history and biography." This declaration is fundamental and comprehensive. At the very outset of our existence the question presents itself, How may we best proceed to the accomplishment of these several and distinct things, each of which is essential to a unity of purpose and to the success of the Society? We live in an age and country of very general education, marvelous mechanical inventions, and the evolution of civil liberty and equal rights. Our nation is new, our individuality intense, our love of fair play universal, our unfolding of history rapid, and the neglect and destruction of records inexcusable. My remarks on the purposes of the Society and how to accomplish them shall be brief and practical rather than rhetorical.

More than a century has elapsed since the site of this city was selected by the patriot and statesman whose name it bears to be the permanent seat of government of the United States. The city was planned on a comprehensive and magnificent scale; but I may say parenthetically that it has already outgrown the bounds then deemed ample for the capital of the American Republic. Already numerous suburban villages, which in a few years will become a part of the city, are springing into existence, but they are unfortunately, many of them, projected without due regard to symmetry or to have them conform to the original plan of the streets and avenues. It was foreseen by General Washington that expansion of the Capital City would in time, and from time to time, become a necessity; and he felicitated the people upon the fact that the plan of rectangular and

parallel streets, with broad independent avenues radiating in direct lines from and between important points, that had been adopted, supplied a system for uniform and unrestricted extension of the city. Some legislation, I believe, has recently been enacted by Congress, after long petitioning, to secure a degree of uniformity in this matter. It was necessary, and it is hoped this may accomplish the end desired; but vigilance is important. The citizens of Washington cannot afford to be indifferent to the uniform direction and ample width of her streets.

The generation of men who were contemporary and active in the founding of the city have performed well their task and gone to their reward. They left us but few written records of their associates and labors in life, and even fewer observations and descriptions of the Federal territory as they found it. No living witnesses are now left who have personal knowledge of the beginning of Washington city.

We are therefore forced to accept much of our early history on traditions, and to verify many facts in relation to the past by contemporary and collateral evidence. It is only known to those who have had occasion to search for facts relating to the topography, the early legislation and development of this city, how meager, incomplete, and scattered are the existing records of the District of Columbia. Our annals, such as they are, deserve to be assembled, verified, and thoroughly canvassed and calendared, so as to be preserved and made useful. This is a proper work to be done or promoted by the Historical Society. I assume that every member is zealous in the cause of historical study and will, in his own way, use his best efforts to discover original papers and documents of historical value, local or national, and obtain gifts of this character, wherever practicable, to the Society.

A working library or a collection of helpful records, books, papers, charts, and documents, which shall be kept accessible to the members and historical students, is at present a

most urgent necessity. Everything must have a beginning. The collection of a good library is a work of time, unceasing labor, judicious selection, and the expenditure of money; but a division of duty and the aid of friends will, we trust, lighten the work before us. This measure, like all efforts which promise to bear fruit, is born of desire and must be nourished by unity of sentiment and persistency of purpose as well as by careful oversight. We must not be too proud to solicit contributions to our records and possessions; in doing so we stoop only to conquer. The varied branches of knowledge which really benefit mankind evolve their own institutions, employ methods and agencies which the experience and intelligence of the times and localities suggest, and attain their greatest power and usefulness through concerted and sustained efforts.

Original documents, special monographs, reports, acts of Congress and of the colonies and of the several states, maps and books of reference, are of the highest importance to historical institutions and are absolutely essential to accurate work. The painstaking, conscientious historian, like the careful surveyor, who aims to extend a straight line where the vision is obstructed by impenetrable objects, frequently tests the accuracy of his work by reversing his compass and "looking backward" to prove whether the forward points indicated and about to be marked are in correct line when viewed in the light of what had been gone over and marked by himself or others. We can only argue logically and profitably from what we know. To predicate with judgment the probabilities of happenings in the future, we must possess accurate knowledge of results in the past, where conditions are comparable. Man in his weakness often expects miracles. Results are, however, the natural offspring of causes. What has been, will be.

The Columbia Historical Society earnestly invites the coöperation and active membership of all persons interested in our local history and in general historical and biographical research. I cannot conceive of an individual

who does not love his family and his country, and I do not know of any better manifestation of such love than interest in its biography and history. It is intended to be inexpensive and practically within the means of all. A unity of purpose by members trained to accurate thinking and writing, with the aid of a special repository rich in original or authentic records, must, as a matter of course, lead to many conferences and discussions among themselves upon important historical and genealogical studies, and to valuable publications.

This Society earnestly desires also to interest and secure the sympathy and good will of all the citizens of the District of Columbia in the laudable and unselfish purposes of this organization, whose labors must inure to the credit of our people at the nation's capital. It is believed that the citizens of Washington city and the public will be benefited in proportion to the interest they take in our local history, because if knowledge is strength, want of it proclaims feebleness and dependence. It is becoming and proper for us all to be proud of the nation's capital and the city of our residence.

We are aware that a historical society assumes obligations to the public and deliberately accepts them when it asks for special and corporate powers to conduct its affairs and build up a repository of historical data, the fruit of the past and the rightful heritage of the present and the future. No public institution can in justice to the people from whom it gets its powers be permitted to collect and lock up useful knowledge as a private or a corporate investinent and prevent or delay publication. Members of all learned societies having charters stand in the position of contributors and managers of great moral trusts in the interest of the people, and are bound to respect the natural rights of mankind and to so discharge their duty as not to restrict but to disseminate knowledge, and to this end are bound to keep their collections, great or small, accessible to students, that the public may be benefited. It may be asked, "What are the

documents and where are they to be found that are supposed to possess historic value?" This is a difficult question to answer.

The collector of historical treasures often stumbles upon valuable data and builds better than he knows. To him who hath shall be given. By right or wrong, treasures go to the strong. In time it will become fashionable for owners of choice historical works and libraries to give or devise them to the Columbia Historical Society. The Society may also in certain cases be favored by being made a sort of residuary legatee in the clearing up of estates. It will always be thankful to become the repository of the literary keepsakes from the shelves and attics of old family mansions. All old family records, manuscripts and letters, early pamphlets, etc, will be welcome to the assorting-room of the Columbia Historical Society. The rooms of the Society should, and in time will, become a great storehouse for everything which can testify to facts from the beginning of the national government and the progress of the District of Columbia, and also the institutions and enterprises of its people. Views and prints of early buildings and portraits of eminent characters identified with our country and the District should be collected and, when practicable, displayed in the hall of the Society; and sketches of the lives and labors of men of national renown who have made the national capital their home should be recorded and preserved in a manner to be readily referred to.

I venture to predict that if we proceed with resolution and on a comprehensive plan, evincing personal and associate interest in all matters relating to this enterprise, it will be but a few years until the rooms of the Columbia Historical Society will contain a grand collection of important original documents, national portraits, and related historical material which will make it one of the chief attractions in the capital city of our country.

We owe it to ourselves that the hall of the Society be made in every way worthy of the high and noble purpose

to which it is to be devoted, and accessible and attractive to people of culture. It is at once our duty and our interest to make it popular with our citizens by preserving these records and to see to it that our collections, deposits, and observations of all kinds are so classified, arranged, calendared, and indexed as to prove a useful mine of information to the inquiring historian. Should this ideal be realized to any considerable degree, the rooms of the Society will, if centrally located, be frequented almost daily by those interested, and particularly by the more elderly members, to examine records and to meet there congenial friends, to compare notes and consult recent historical publications and comment upon such matters in a frank, conversational way, and to discuss current news and public affairs. In time it should become an established fact and grow into a popular belief among the people that calendars, indexes, and references to almost everything relating to the history of our city, her public institutions, old families, notable events and occurrences, local and national, are to be found of record and may be freely consulted at the rooms of the Columbia Historical Society. The archives of the Society must, in time, become a vast repository of definite historical facts. The public will be just to us and will estimate us neither too high nor too low. Our Society will be what we and our successors make it; it is to be an institution of which we shall be proud. Our collections and the fruit of our labor will answer. The purposes of the Society are lofty and just. I have the greatest confidence in the success of the enterprise in which we are engaged and in the ability and strength of purpose of those enlisting in the work to make it a grand success. It is worthy of our highest consideration, and will be respected by all learned societies.

As a lover and conservator of historical materials, I am constrained to say that it is, in my judgment, safe to assume that the record or history of any effort or method pursued by man for his advancement, or any instrument of writing that has defined his rights or protected his property or

person anywhere in the past, and every accurate account of inventions in the useful arts or of events or occurrences in our political and social history, are pretty sure to possess value and deserve preservation. Accurate records and accounts of a people's struggles to better their social and political condition in any age or part of the world have a value in the study of man's advancement toward the still higher civilization to which culture and Christianity aspire. The chief function of history is that it preserves the knowledge acquired by experiences in actual life, as contradistinguished from fiction, fancy, and assumption. A judicious historian can take nothing for granted, but assembles evidence to corroborate any claim he makes. Writers, too, have to be cautious in weighing the credibility of testimony and in discovering the misfits which do not bear upon cases under discussion. Inferences must never be accepted in lieu of facts. The faithful historian should, like the witness in court, declare the whole truth, as far as it comes to his knowledge, and nothing but the truth. To falsify history is little short of perjury.

The fullest latitude as to the subject and scope of contributions, treated in a proper historical spirit, will be left to the members. There is, in fact, no branch or field of historic inquiry touching the District of Columbia that has been exhausted. The past of our political existence, as well as our growth, is to be canvassed. It is recognized that much of what has been written as a history of the District of Columbia has been viewed from a narrow horizon. Time and a more comprehensive study by capable students will correct those errors. We may even hope that some one will begin with Captain John Smith, who, with thirteen companions, sailed up the Potomac in 1608 to the falls above Georgetown and held conference with the Indians at a point within the District of Columbia. The clearing of the natural forest, the building of cabins by the early planters, and the founding of villages here on the banks of the Potomac before the

capital city was projected, are all matters of interest and invite the pen of the industrious student.

An account of the position of the various springs used by the first proprietors and of the small water-courses which arose in or ran through the city limits before the streets were graded, affords a desirable study. The original shore-lines of the Potomac and Anacostia, the highest elevations, the low lands, the overflowed marshes within our boundaries, the water-courses, the early roads, fords, ferries, and fisheries within the District, and all notable topographical features of this locality deserve attention and may be of practical and substantial service in the determination of sanitary drainage and other questions of importance to the city. There are many records lodged in the several offices of the United States government of especial interest to our local and national history. The files of Congress, the State, War, and Treasury departments are each particularly rich in records of value to the historian of the District, as are the journals and files of record by the early Commissioners for laying out the city, and of the Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds; also those of the several courts of the District, and the records in the office of the register of wills and the orphans' court, and the files in the Pension Office. These can all be examined with profit and will yield much biographical matter of the revolutionary period. These, as do some of the other departments of the National Government, abound in choice material for an accurate history of the development of the capital city of the nation and for writing the biography of the leading men of the United States who assisted in founding the republic and of others of national fame who for a time dwelt at the seat of government.

The listing of all the early maps and the plats of division of the lands within this territory, and the various official documents relating to the District known to exist, whether owned by the Society or not, with a descriptive reference to and indicating where they are lodged, is deserving of the immediate

attention of this Society. I also assume that all letters by persons of intelligence, reflection, and position, whether on personal matters or not, as well as those relating to public acts and affairs, merit preservation. They will at least preserve an autograph, may identify an individual, possibly fix a residence, etc. Memorandums, diaries, journals, ledgers, deeds, wills, legal documents, records of courts and public meetings, petitions, remonstrances, resolutions, etc, all may be, at some time or other, of special value and are at least worthy of examination, and, if not wholly commonplace, deserve a lodgment in the archives of an historical society.

It is not an unusual thing for those engaged in historical research to learn that boxes and trunks of old papers, long retained as heirlooms but in the mutation of families found to be inconvenient to keep and finally deemed useless, had at last, just to get them out of the way, been destroyed or sent to the junk dealer.

But there are still many valuable old records in the possession of families in the District who realize how difficult it is to care for them and are in constant dread for their security in private hands. The organization of this Society may persuade them to see the wisdom of giving their custody to a permanent institution like the Columbia Historical Society, devoted to the preservation of records, having fire-proof accommodations. It is certain that it is not alone from the houses of the opulent and well-to-do that interesting old manuscripts and letters may be expected, nor from whom we may receive family and business papers as a gift, or as a deposit for safe-keeping in the repository of this Society. Unfortunately, this class of papers as well as the memories and traditions of the early days of our city are growing fewer year by year and disappearing forever. We invite donations from every quarter of old manuscripts, letters, early maps, prints, portraits, pamphlets, newspapers, broadsides, and books relating to America.

We can all recognize the fact that much of what is difficult now to obtain will be an impossibility a few years

hence. Much has already been irretrievably lost. Let us be earnest and diligent gatherers while we may and collect the perishing fragments of the records and traditions that remain, lest they too be lost.

Sketches of our local history and a reference to the data upon which its statements rest, with all records of old District institutions and organizations, with lists of their members now past and gone and any account of them are important to our local history. If leaders of thought and legislation desire to be guided by the knowledge which history supplies of the past, they, too, must consult veritable records.

Nor should it be forgotten that the history of the national capital is linked with that of the nation. The District of Columbia, unlike the other federal units, is without a legislative body, and its laws are framed and its administration is guided by the national legislature. In this way its functions are in some measure restricted; but at the same time its civic history blends with that of the Federal Government. Again, the law-makers, the jurists, and the administrative officers chosen by the people of the United States to fill their most important offices become temporary or permanent residents of Washington. Although our area and population are limited, our residents include a much larger proportion, if not a larger number, of illustrious Americans than any other state or territory. While many of these distinguished representatives of our country sojourn among us but a few months or years, many remain long enough to become identified with our people, and a considerable number become permanent residents of the District. Furthermore, it is to be noted that all civilized countries are represented in the national capital by ambassadors, ministers, and other diplomatic agents; and our country has now attained such a position among the nations that these representatives of foreign lands are men of high distinction. Like the national legislators and administrators, they commonly remain in the capital but a few years; yet they affiliate with the per-

manent population, and give a cosmopolitan character to the home of the nation. Thus in our capital city the nations of the earth join hands; here the men who make the history of the world assemble, and here it is that our national history is adjusted to universal history. So some lines of historical research may be pursued here more advantageously than elsewhere; our civic history is interwoven with national history; our biographic history is the history of the great men of the nation, and the history of our embassies and legations is the history of the diplomatic relations of the country. Our opportunities are great; it behooves us to avail ourselves of them.

The methods to be pursued by the Society to encourage its members to make communications may safely be left to the inspiration of the hour. It, however, occurs to me that it may be well for the Society to exact an annual address from the retiring President, which might profitably in part be devoted to suggestions as to our needs and a review of the labors of the Society for the year. The movement to unite the efforts of those capable and helpfully inclined to collect, preserve, and disseminate a knowledge of the history of the District of Columbia has met with flattering encouragement and has demonstrated the fact that Washington city is the home of a very large number of persons possessing the true historic spirit, and quite a number have expressed their readiness to coöperate in the work this day inaugurated by the Columbia Historical Society.

THE METHODS AND AIMS OF HISTORICAL INQUIRY

VICE-PRESIDENT A. R. SPOFFORD

[Delivered before the Society May 7, 1894]

Assembled as we are to initiate a new society devoted to historical research, it may be pertinent to bring to your attention some suggestions as to the methods and aims of historical inquiry. To do this without trenching upon the ground already so ably covered, at least in part, by our President, will be briefly attempted.

The present time appears to be an auspicious one for entering upon many neglected fields. The spirit of the age, while intensely practical, is preëminently a spirit of inquiry. Never before has the interest of men in the facts of the past been so widely diffused. The people are eager for information about the discovery, settlement, and history of every portion of our widely extended country. Books of local history come from the press in ever-increasing numbers. The ardent quest for the genealogy of families, largely stimulated by the formation of societies of sons and daughters of the American revolution, has assumed great and heretofore unknown interest.

Many of our states have gathered and published series of colonial records, proceedings of early legislatures, etc, invaluable to the historical inquirer. Other states, which never before published anything concerning their early history, are preparing, by the examination and collection of manuscripts still preserved, both in Europe and America, to commemorate the men and the events of their past. Several of the states embraced in the old thirteen colonies have

within a few years printed the rolls of their officers and soldiers in the revolutionary armies. Many new historical societies have been founded, until the most recent tabulation of the number of such associations, state and local, foots up an aggregate of no less than two hundred and twenty-six, of which number thirty-eight are state historical societies.

At the same time a marked improvement is apparent in the quality and critical value of our historical literature. Not many years since the writers of so-called histories were remarkable chiefly for their want of thorough information on the subjects which they assumed to treat. Books were written in which the worthlessness of the matter was only equaled by the crudity of the style. With the exception of a very few honorable and honored names, the writers of histories struggled after the bombastic, the exaggerated, and the sensational. The result was a crop of ephemeral so-called histories, which the world has very willingly let die. Now, thanks to the existence of better models, we have fewer ambitious attempts to treat great historic themes by utterly unskilled writers and incompetent investigators. It is coming to be recognized that the men and the events of history are to be viewed with a broad, liberal, and philosophic treatment, and that no man is competent to write a history who cannot enter into the very temper and spirit of the times he would describe, and portray characters in the true light of their inherent qualities and of the environment which surrounded them.

The marked and encouraging growth of the true historical spirit is further evinced by the large number and variety of articles on history and biography which appear in the periodical press. Not only are the magazines and reviews prolific in special studies reviving the events of the past, but the columns of the daily and weekly press are liberally supplied with such articles, which are welcomed alike by publishers and readers. While the number of exclusively historical magazines is comparatively few, our literary periodicals largely supply their place by devoting much attention to

this field, frequently publishing illustrated historical and biographical material of greater or less value.

Another method of diffusing historical information is by lectures, increasingly in demand and supply, in which notable characters and events are often treated in condensed and graphic portraiture, contributing to the pleasure and profit of audiences. Our leading universities have now their professorships of history—something almost unknown thirty years ago in this country,—and the contributions of those who fill these chairs and of their students to the periodical and permanent historical literature of the country are neither few nor small.

Into this age of eager interest in the men and the events of the past, this new Society is born. Its founders need not regret that it comes so late upon the stage, since its work will unquestionably be better performed than if it had started in the cruder and less critical era which has gone before. The field of its labors is emphatically a wide one, although it is in name a local society. Taking in its range all that centers in our national capital, it embraces the history of the genesis of our republic, the founding of the capital city, the political annals of the country, the biographies of statesmen, whether legislators, executive officers, or jurists; the great historic debates in the halls of Congress, the founding and the progress of the various departments of the government, the growth of the representative body and the senate, the social history of each administration, the formation, growth, and decline of parties, the characteristics of each notable epoch in our annals, the public buildings of the government and their history, the institutions founded by Congress in the District of Columbia, and the policy of our national legislature in its treatment of the federal city. Add to this the varied subjects of interest in our local history and development already referred to, or which will readily occur to all of you, and a range of subjects of investigation opens before us such as few of our cities (perhaps, indeed, no other city) can supply.

Thus, for example, a history of the newspapers of this District, daily and weekly, thoroughly prepared, with the leading characteristics of each notable journal, its term of existence, etc., would form a most interesting and instructive work. While the great field of our local journalism is strewn with many wrecks, it has also had its notable and brilliant successes for commemoration.

A systematic history of the various District forms of government—municipal, territorial, and by commission—with chronological tables of officers, and the conditions and results of suffrage and its discontinuance, is greatly needed, and should be undertaken by an impartial hand. A full account of the pioneers and first settlers of Washington has never been attempted with any completeness, and the scattered materials which exist should be brought together and digested into a memorial of the men who were the earliest to be identified with the seat of government. A thorough history of the District of Columbia, geographically considered, with a view of all legal questions involved in boundaries, public reservations, riparian rights, tax titles, disputed ownerships, etc., and the changes brought about in the Potomac river and the Anacostia by time and progress, presents a most fruitful and attractive theme, which there are minds among the members of this Society fully qualified to treat.

An analogous field of research presents itself in the court records, not only of the District of Columbia proper, but of the adjacent counties of Maryland and Virginia, which are said to abound in material scarcely known, still less explored, in which names whose owners figured in the early settlement of the capital city are found recorded.

A systematic account of all the institutions of learning in the District was undertaken nearly thirty years ago by the first Commissioner of Education, but has never been brought down to include the marvelous progress in public instruction since the civil war, nor the history of the universities here founded. The numerous scientific, literary, artistic,

and musical societies and social clubs of Washington are worthy of special historic commemoration, which cannot long be wanting, in a more complete and enduring form than the casual notices of the daily press. Our widely extended charitable organizations, asylums, hospitals, etc., have each a history, and the numerous churches of Washington present a field for an industrious collection and recording of facts, which may well be published in the liberal spirit of historical inquiry, with the result of contributing to the instruction of all, and with offense to none.

Another subject for careful historic research would be found in the evolution of the colored race in this District, the story of slavery and emancipation, and the changes brought about in their relations to property, education, and social conditions generally.

The long and interesting annals of public improvements in the District of Columbia have been treated of as yet in the most cursory and fragmentary manner. The three-quarters of a century of chronic and systematic neglect, followed by a quarter century of energetic and rapid advancement—so rapid and energetic as to be almost without parallel in municipal annals—are yet to be adequately described; and the materials for this part of our history are fortunately abundant in continuous and voluminous reports, buried from public view for the most part in congressional documents, which only await the skillful hand and the organizing mind of the competent writer to render into a clear and connected account of the marvelous development of Washington. Incident to this are the annals of the more private building enterprises of the city, spreading over new regions year by year, with the marked and steady growth of architectural taste, with wonderful variety of form and color, in place of the dead monotony and depressing sameness which disfigure the architecture of so many older cities.

Nor will the history of suburban improvement be overlooked, with its most recent triumphs in securing, with

timely economy and foresight, the Zoological Park, and the Rock Creek National Park of 1,500 acres, which only requires the hand of taste and skill to develop into a wild garden of beauty for the delight of all residents and visitors at the national capital in the ages that are to follow. The early and the late history of streets and avenues, with their successive openings or extensions, the names they bear, and the important place they occupy in the topography of the District, presents a topic of historic interest. Especially is it true of the various proposed reforms in our street nomenclature that such changes should be well and carefully considered, and, through special committees or otherwise, reporting upon rival plans for an improvement, they are well worthy of the attention of this Society.

In the earlier history of the Capital City and District the various plans for improved communications with other parts of the country, the improvement of the upper Potomac river as a means of water transit to the West (a plan which, though abortive, enlisted the enterprise and the capital of Washington himself), the actual connection of the Federal city with western Maryland and Virginia and their coal mines by the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, and the later railway openings, which have formed such all-important links in the chain of progress—all these present most interesting and instructive topics of inquiry, not as yet adequately treated.

Nor should it be forgotten by the historian that the first successful application of that marvelous agent in the modern progress of mankind—electricity—to the uses of the magnetic telegraph, was effected in the city of Washington. With this triumph of physical science over all the obstructions of time and space the names of Henry, of Morse, and of Vail are indissolubly associated. Our early history would be incomplete without commemorating the facts of the commerce and the navigation of our Potomac river, when, in the early days of Alexandria, the water transit thus afforded was the only channel for a large coastwise traffic, as well as for for-

eign commerce. Indeed, no student of the highly interesting debates in the First Congress upon the choice of a proper place for the permanent seat of government can fail to have noted the extraordinary stress laid by the speakers upon convenient access by tide-water navigation, in an age before railway transit had been dreamed of.

Among the more salient facts of our recent progress the street-railway system, with its development out of the old cumbrous and lumbering omnibus lines of thirty years ago, affords a not unimportant field for the recorder of local history. A comparative view of the system as developed in Washington with that of other cities, taking into account all the elements of public accommodation, rapidity of transit, safety, working economy, territory covered, and motive power, could not fail to be instructive and valuable; and a permanent record made in the present epoch of transition of methods would be timely.

Still another interesting item of local history would be found in commemorating the many books written or published in Washington and other parts of the District of Columbia, and the authors of greater or less note who have here written works published elsewhere. Especially noteworthy are the numerous literary and scientific productions of those connected with various branches of the government, realizing many hundreds of volumes, many of which are of great and permanent value.

The great problem of municipal government, arousing yearly closer public attention and investigation, and coming home, as it does, to the interest and the pocket of every citizen, may well enlist our inquiry. A comparative view of our own city and District administration, under the peculiar and unique form of government provided by Congress, with that of other cities, where universal suffrage divides with legislative control the local government, might elicit facts of great value. As experience has been styled the mother of all the sciences, and history is but an aggregation of experiences, it becomes us to make use of all means

of enlightenment at our command, to compare the relative merits of every system, and to suggest possible improvements.

The methods of the historical investigator should involve the highest intelligence, the most careful and thorough research, the keenest sifting of evidence and authorities, a zeal for information that is limitless, and a patience that is inexhaustible. To distrust every statement that is unsupported by collateral testimony should be his instinctive and habitual mood of mind. The method of the careless writer is to take everything for granted; the method of the true historian is to take nothing for granted. To no man—to no writer—is the calm judicial temper more indispensable than to the historian. To be faithful to his high office he must indispensably disabuse his mind of predilections, prejudices, and the besetting conceit of opinion. His only business is to follow the truth, no matter where or how far from his preconceived judgments it may lead him.

The absolute importance of close scrutiny of authorities, of distrust of all sources of information except original ones, will become apparent to any one who will carefully trace any narrative of occurrences in common life from hand to hand, and see how wofully it becomes distorted in the changes it undergoes. Or let any one compare the conflicting evidence of eyewitnesses of the same facts in any court of justice, where absolutely opposite and irreconcilable statements of the same occurrence are made under oath by persons of apparently equal candor and means of information. And if one would have an instructive object-lesson in the art of how not to write history, let him read *seriatim* all the books that have been written on Mary, the hapless Queen of Scots. There he will find, depicted sometimes in somber and sometimes in passionate and glowing colors, what a refined and gentle creature, what a coarse and cruel woman, what a devout and pious soul, what an unscrupulous and deceitful wretch, what a pure and angelic saint, what a dissolute and bloody-minded devil, what a wronged and blessed

martyr, and what a wicked and abandoned reprobate, one woman could be. After such an experience of what is often called, as if in irony, "the truth of history," one need not wonder at the somewhat sweeping judgment of the British statesman who exclaimed, at the circulating library where, in quest of a new book, he was asked if he would take Froude's latest history, "No! bring me a good novel; all histories are lies."

All the more important is it in our historical investigations, while allowing for the imperfections and the bias of original observers, to allow also a very liberal margin of skepticism for the prejudices and idiosyncrasies of authors. Without this the reader is in perpetual danger of being misled instead of being informed. He who accepts unquestioned the statements or the beliefs of an author is too innocent and unsophisticated for this world. Even without any conscious attempt to conceal or to exaggerate facts or influences, according as they bear favorably or unfavorably upon this or the other hero of the biography or history, there is the honest and unconscious bias of individual character, investing some persons with an unreal glamor and others with an undeserved odium. Add to this the constantly besetting temptation to save time and labor by taking reports at second hand, and, when quoting, to abridge or to paraphrase instead of citing the exact language, and what wonder is it that our histories are full of superficial work and of errors? One may sometimes trace a misquotation through a half dozen different writers, each copying the errors of his predecessor, without once attempting to look up the original. Contrast this too prevalent habit of careless writers and superficial students with the scrupulous and painstaking care of some of the great historical scholars of the past. How many modern writers of so-called history and biography have been discredited by the labors of close and critical inquirers? On the other hand, how few errors of judgment, of fact, or of citation have been found in the great history of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Em-

pire," as told by Gibbon. And how many among the Greek and Latin writers of history have exhibited a perspicacity, an elevation of view, a just-mindedness, and an accuracy of statement which might put to shame many noted historical writers of later days! If our writers had a proper sense of the responsibility of him who misleads the public, if they would act on the principle that historical inquiry should never stop short of a conviction of truth; if, in all circumstances where no such conviction can be reached, they would simply and truly state the fact—and hold their pens,—we should then have fewer falsehoods in our histories. But it is hard to search deeply and to weigh deliberately; it is easy to dogmatize. It is dogmatism which gives us so many sciolists, who put forth impressions instead of demonstrations, so many biographers and historians who print eulogies in place of facts. What is known in art as the impressionist school has invaded the realm of literature, and fancy and imagination too often usurp the place of reason, moderation, and exact knowledge.

Why is it that so much of our biographical literature is so overloaded with eulogy as to threaten coming generations with an insoluble problem, namely, how to separate history from myth? The biographer who willfully conceals all the faults and errors of his subject, and makes of his book an indiscriminate panegyric, falsifies history and makes biography a farce.

In another direction, consider the responsibility of those who deal with private papers and public documents. Most of the reproductions of the letters of our early statesmen are not reproductions at all, but travesties, emendations, and extracts, in which sentences are wrenched out of their proper connection, and so abridged as to convey less or more than the meaning of the writer. When Mr Sparks, careful and industrious scholar as he was, undertook to edit the writings of Washington, he not only altered the orthography of the father of his country, which he had no right to do, but suppressed or amended characteristic passages which ap-

peared to him faulty or inelegant. Thus he gave to his countrymen, not Washington as he was, but Washington as a learned Cambridge professor would have him to be. I am happy to be able to add that through the disinterested labors of a member of this Society the unpublished private journals of Washington are to be given to the public with absolute fidelity, in every line and letter as originally written.

In this connection the admirable aid of the new processes for reproducing manuscripts, developed by photography, should not be overlooked. By this means perfect records of every original document are procured, and already the originals of multitudes of papers in our revolutionary annals, of priceless historical value, existing only in European archives, may be seen in absolute fac-simile in the Congressional Library, the Department of State, and in other great collections.

One reason of the many historical errors that abound may be referred to. So great is the liability to error in resetting in type an early book or document, that it is true of the reproduction of the first folio of Shakespeare, 1623, reprinted in London in 1807, that the volume contained no less than 368 errors, or departures from the original. In the more recent zincographic copies of this precious *editio princeps* of the immortal bard an absolutely faithful reproduction has been reached.

In conclusion, while the great theme of the proper methods and aims of historical inquiry has been but lightly and imperfectly touched, enough has, perhaps, been suggested here, and in the address which has preceded, to show how inexhaustible a field opens before us.

Many other subjects of historical investigation, or extensions of those referred to, will occur to the fruitful minds here present. Laboring each in his own chosen sphere, we shall none the less work together toward one common object—a truthful record of the past. We have for incitements

a national career of a century, identified with the city in which we live; a civil and military history singularly rich in documentary annals; an ample and beautiful metropolis, cradled in the wilderness a hundred years ago, and planned with marvelous prevision as the permanent seat of government for a teeming population; a capitol whose cornerstone was laid by the illustrious Washington, and a heritage of freedom secured by muniments erected by the hands of statesmen, and baptized in the blood of patriots. Here, in temples consecrated to human liberty, the sons of our revolutionary sires are to work out the great problem of free government. Be it ours to bear a part, however humble, in perpetuating the memorials of so glorious a past, and proving ourselves worthy of the noblest heritage which the civilization of ages has bestowed upon man.

MEMORIAL OF JAMES CLARKE WELLING

At a meeting, October 1, 1894, of the Board of Managers of the Columbia Historical Society, on motion of Mr Marcus Baker, Messrs Hagner, Hubbard, and Spofford were appointed a committee to draft and present at the next meeting resolutions respecting the death of Dr JAMES C. WELLING. At the meeting held December 3, 1894, the chairman of the committee, Justice A. B. Hagner, presented and read the following minute and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

The members of the Columbia Historical Society desire to inscribe on its minutes a lasting testimonial of the sensibility with which they have learned of the death of JAMES CLARKE WELLING, LL. D., one of the active promoters and founders and a prominent official of the Society. This afflictive event occurred at Dr Welling's summer home, at Hartford, Connecticut, on the morning of September 4, 1894.

At one of the last meetings of the Society preceding the summer vacation our friend was with us, as cheerful and vivacious as usual, and he participated in our proceedings with his accustomed intelligence and interest. Although recently his health had become somewhat impaired, there was nothing then in his appearance giving indication of impending illness, and certainly nothing to warn us that an inexorable decree, from which there is no appeal, had already assigned to his name the primacy in our necrology.

Alas! that his honored name shall no more appear in our roster of membership, except as clouded by the sorrowful asterisk that reminds us that on this earth we shall see his face no more!

In reviewing the record of his well-spent life there is no need to borrow or to heighten the language of eulogy. A

faithful statement of the incidents of his career, without embellishment or exaggeration, will present the history of a man who, during a life prolonged beyond the ordinary limit of the Psalmist, was deservedly reckoned among the most useful and gifted of our citizens.

James Clarke Welling was born in New Jersey in 1825 and graduated at Princeton in 1844 with a grade that placed him near the top of a numerous class, many of whose members became distinguished in the professional, political, and literary history of the country. Selecting the law as a profession, he applied himself at once diligently to its study; but there happened in his case that which seems almost to be the rule rather than the exception, so frequently do we seem to be the creatures of chance in the final adoption of a career. He soon abandoned the practice of the law (if he ever began it), and passed his life in association with two very different occupations—the avocation of a teacher and the career of a journalist. That his legal studies aided in his success in each of these employments is undoubted, for if Mr Justice Blackstone went too far in declaring that a knowledge of the law is almost an essential part of a liberal and polite education, he is certainly correct in pronouncing it a most proper accomplishment for every scholar.

His first employment as a teacher was as tutor in a distinguished family in Virginia, where social associations were formed by him of a most interesting personal character.

His first experience in journalism was in connection with prominent newspapers in New York city. The beauty and correctness of style and the vigor and force of reasoning displayed in articles which came to be recognized as his productions, made for him a favorable reputation in the world of journalism and led to an editorial connection with the *National Intelligencer*, which at that day was still a power throughout the country. Conducted from an early day by Messrs Gales and Seaton, first as a Republican and afterward as a Whig newspaper, their editorials on the more important national issues differed greatly from the short

and crisp paragraphs which alone are admissible in the journals of today. They were frequently magnificent essays, embodying with entire correctness (according to the views of the writers) the reliable history of those great controversies, gathered with infinite care from materials often accessible only at the seat of government, explained and illustrated by the contemporaneous experience and knowledge of the editors, acquired during their almost lifelong residence at Washington and their editorship of many of the early archives; and when to these qualifications were added the influence of their high individual character and their extensive personal acquaintance with the actors in these great strifes, and their intimate friendship with many of the most distinguished, it is not wonderful that their writings were received with peculiar respect. Indeed, they were frequently made the text of speeches in high places, and were the sources of inspiration and learning to the newspapers through the country of similar political opinions. When the failing health of Mr Gales rendered it necessary to supply his place, so far as that was possible, Mr Welling took large charge of his particular department, and soon evinced such diligence in research and collaboration and power of statement and logic that, profiting as he doubtless did by the daily counsel of the senior editors while they survived, the *National Intelligencer* under the new management maintained its ancient reputation. Its position during the civil war was of exceptional interest and importance. Firm in its opposition to secession from the beginning, and consistently supporting the cause of the Union, its acknowledged moderation between the extremes of opinion on that side gave special weight to its influence. For this reason it was frequently selected by President Lincoln and by other high officials and prominent persons throughout the country as the medium of important announcements and suggestions to the people. But after the pacification the *Intelligencer*, as it formerly existed, passed away with the new order of things, and Mr Welling's connection with it ceased. It may

well be questioned whether any newspaper ever published contains as vast an amount of wise and valuable editorial work as is collected within the extensive files of the *National Intelligencer*. To the stores within this historic repository, now already prepared for the future historian, Mr Welling furnished a large contribution, and it may confidently be said that nothing of this great collection that came from his facile pen can ever be used to give aid to the traducer or any other enemy of our country bent on a vicious search for materials to belittle or defame it.

Mr Welling was next employed for some time in the office of the clerk of the Court of Claims, until he was chosen to the presidency of Saint John's College, at Annapolis, Maryland, which had been closed during the war. His energy, executive skill, and wise management were soon evinced in the marked increase in the number of students at the venerable institution, and his scholarly ability and aptitude for imparting instruction and communicating his love of learning to the students soon had a marked influence in restoring its ancient reputation. But the same unpatriotic sentiment that had induced the legislature in 1805 by an act, which the highest court of the state afterward declared unconstitutional, to withdraw the annual appropriation intended to be secured by contract in the charter of 1784, caused the abandonment of a temporary appropriation for the college, made when it was reopened, and deprived the institution of funds indispensable for its support. Mr Welling thereupon withdrew and accepted an important professorship at his *alma mater*, and remained at Princeton in that employment until his election to the presidency of Columbian College, at Washington city.

His career here is matter of recent common knowledge. Under its changed name of Columbian University he gathered a greatly enlarged corps of professors in additional branches of instruction, and there was developed such an increase of students that the attendance in each of several of the schools was greatly in excess of the whole number

at any previous period of the history of the institution. It now occupies a recognized position among the prominent educational establishments of the country. His long attention to his arduous duties had made an inroad on his strength, and for this reason and to obtain the opportunity to carry into execution a long-cherished literary design, which was inconsistent with other active occupations, he presented his resignation to the trustees, which was provisionally accepted, to await the choice of a successor. It was under this condition of affairs that he left here, after he had presided at the graduating exercises of the different branches, to enjoy a rest from his labors, which is now perpetual.

Such, is imperfectly, the story of an industrious public life spent in the sight of all men, with great honor to himself and great benefit to the public. But these labors constituted only part of his constant occupation in other directions. His ready pen was seldom unemployed outside of his public duties, and his literary contributions to the reviews and the highest class of newspapers were very frequent, embracing essays and other articles upon historical, philosophical, artistic, and literary topics of the most varied character. He made no pretension to be deeply skilled as an adept in natural philosophy or the kindred sciences, and yet it is very unusual to find a layman so intelligently versed in their general principles as he was, and so well abreast of the march of discovery and invention within their domain. Upon his acquisitions during his early legal studies he had built by constant application a correct knowledge of the principles of natural law and the law of nations, and one of his desires was to take charge of a chair whose function should be the inculcation of the correct principles of international law.

He was particularly well read in history, and especially in that of our own country, and the work he was projecting as the occupation of his time after his release from public engagements was the preparation of a civil history of our

great domestic struggle, as a supplement to its military history, which has thus far almost exclusively occupied the pens of the numerous writers whose works have been devoted only "to the battles of the warriors." Few persons in the country were better equipped with facilities for success in such a work than Mr Welling. From his vantage ground at the seat of government he had watched the coming storm and seen its premonitory lightnings, and had heard "the thunder of the captains and the shouting."

His position on the *National Intelligencer* had brought him into acquaintance with most of the public men then prominent in Congress, and there was no concealment toward the last on either side of their aspirations and intentions, and scarcely of their plans. He had in his possession numbers of hitherto unpublished writings of great interest, which will go far to confirm or to destroy various favorite theories which have been the subject of much contention since the close of the war. That the theme would have received a painstaking and intelligent treatment in this which would have been his most ambitious work cannot be doubted, and its loss is most regrettable. He was member of a great number of literary and other societies in this District and elsewhere, and his addresses before some of them were among his most graceful efforts. The last occasion on which he appeared in public was at the laying of the cornerstone of the new Corcoran Gallery of Art in May last, when he delivered a most appropriate address, which did justice to the beneficent founder and to the benign institution. Whether the matter were religious or secular, municipal or literary, his interest was readily aroused in a meritorious undertaking and his tongue was ready to speak in its behalf. Always diligently occupied, he was never too busy to have time for his work or for a chat with a friend. It was only by wise methods that so hard-working a man was able to accomplish what he did. No man ever ate less idle bread. His social duties were

important accessories to his public employment, and few men discharged them so fully. He had hosts of acquaintances and "troops" of friends, whom he secured by willingness to serve them and by a politeness and consideration that amounted to a real virtue.

The committee recommend the adoption of these resolutions:

Resolved, That by the death of Dr James C. Welling the Columbia Historical Society has lost one of its most useful and distinguished members, and his associates a valued friend, whose loss we shall ever deplore.

Resolved, That the foregoing minute with these resolutions shall be entered at large on our record, and that a copy of them shall be sent to his widow and daughter, with the assurance of our unfeigned regret at their afflictive bereavement.

Speaking on his own behalf, Justice Hagner added :

It was not my intention to do more at this time than to read the minute and resolutions reported from the committee ; but as I recall at this moment the open grave of my friend by which I so recently stood, I find it impossible to refrain from some expression of personal sorrow at the sudden severance of an intimacy extending over so long a period.

I probably knew Dr Welling longer than any one else present. Fifty-one years ago I made his acquaintance ; at that time our friendship was formed, and it continued without interruption to the time of his death. "He was my friend, faithful and just to me." I am glad to believe he would have said the same of me.

Our intercourse during his long residence in Washington and in Annapolis was of the most intimate character, and his employments, his plans and hopes, were freely discussed between us. I think I understood his character, his acquirements and his capabilities, and I feel authorized to speak of

them with a reasonable degree of confidence. This city doubtless contains persons more profound as scientists, more learned as historians and publicists, and more accomplished as orators and linguists, but I do not believe a more useful man could be found among us than Dr Welling, within the limitations by which he was surrounded. Guided by the rule of Epictetus, that the man is to be admired who always labors to do his very best according to his opportunities, Dr Welling is justly entitled to be held as one of our most useful citizens; for he was the efficient promoter of many important enterprises, that either would not have been commenced at all, or certainly would not have been performed as well, had his aid been wanting.

If this was not as fully appreciated as it should have been by the general public, it may really have been because of the superabundance of his good works; for the great variety of his useful labors for the general welfare withdrew him, in a measure, from that devotion to a single object which seems to be the price exacted for preëminence. The publication of his various writings, which I hope may not be long delayed, will undoubtedly add to his permanent reputation, as it will to the public store of valuable literature.

I never knew one in whose character and demeanor time made less change. The rather serious college youth, singularly diligent and studious but cheerful and light-hearted, simply ripened into the indefatigable student and active man of business, but he still retained his elasticity of disposition and his youthful feelings and manners. Full of active sympathy with whatever surrounded him, alert in his movements as in his mental activities, his capacity for the enjoyment of friendship appeared to increase with his years.

The wounds from the loss of friends are those that heal slowly. But it is a satisfaction to me to recall that on a visit received from him just before he left Washington for the last time his cheerfulness and charm of manner and conver-

sation were as marked as ever, and to recall "the touch of a vanished hand" that gave no distressing presage it was to be the last.

Hon. A. R. Spofford seconded the resolutions, and said in substance:

In rising to second the resolutions, I should not add a word to the very just, appropriate, and felicitous memorial to our departed colleague, but for one remark which Justice Hagner lately made to me. He said that Dr Welling had not been, perhaps, so widely appreciated in this community as his great merits deserved. If we are to understand appreciation in the sense of great notoriety, this may be true; but if we take it to imply a high estimate and sense of a man's worth on the part of all who knew him, I think that Dr Welling had that in an eminent degree.

As an accomplished scholar, as a successful educator, as a clear and forcible writer in many fields, as an influential editor, as a life-long student and investigator, he achieved wide recognition. While his public life brought him in contact with cultivated men in all the various professions, his ever courteous and genial manners were a passport to the esteem of all. In private intercourse he was a charming companion; his conversation was full of literary, personal, and historical allusion, and enlivened by frequent sallies of humor.

My own intercourse with him, though not intimate, extended over a period of twenty-five years, and brought me acquainted, in some degree, with his methods of study in preparation for treating topics about which he was writing. His frequent visits to the Library, especially after he became a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution and had the privilege of drawing out books, were always with a definite purpose. His investigations were marked by a habit of thorough research characteristic of the careful scholar. He had an instinctive habit of weighing evidence, and the true

critical spirit in dealing with authorities. His style of composition was uniformly that of a man of refined taste, grave and elevated when treating of weighty themes, light and free when dealing with the weapons of ridicule or satire.

He had a marked fitness for historical investigation, and might have become, had his avocations permitted, one of our best writers of history. Both in speech and in writing he was a purist, though without pedantry; and whoever might succumb to the ever-increasing popular slang which corrupts our noble English speech, one was always sure of finding Dr Welling adhering to classic models of style. He spoke and wrote against the attempts of certain "reformers" to destroy our orthography by the phonetic system of spelling the language.

I remember, in almost the last intercourse between us, in June of the present year, when invited to act as one of the judges of merit at Columbian University, his solicitude in pressing upon us the importance of considering in our decision both the strength of the arguments on either side and the manner of their presentation.

In all the meetings which effected the organization of this Historical Society, the wise counsel, large experience, and just judgment of Dr Welling bore a conspicuous part. He took a deep interest in its objects, and you will all concur in the judgment that we have lost in him one of the foremost and most efficient, as well as one of the best equipped of our members. Our grief at his removal from the world is tempered by the assurance that his work here was nobly done, and that he had fulfilled the destined term of a well-rounded and useful life.

UNWELCOME VISITORS TO EARLY WASHINGTON*

AUGUST 24, 1814.

Eighty years have now rolled away since the report of the British invasion of the infant capital filled the country with a burning indignation against the culpable inefficiency of the persons intrusted with its defense. Immediately party differences vanished; the national honor being at stake, every one rallied to the support of the Government, eagerly anxious to efface the disgrace heaped upon the country and avenge the vandalism committed by the enemy. American manhood responded at once to the call, soon redeeming the disaster of that fatal August day by the brilliant victories of September 10, 1814, at Baltimore, and January 8, 1815, before New Orleans. Condemned by the whole civilized world, this wanton use of the torch can never be forgotten nor condoned; it ever remains a stigma on England's fame. The story of the capture has often been told, especially by Edward D. Ingraham in 1849 (who sought to palliate General Winder's errors), followed by John S. Williams' vivid account in 1856, describing in detail the official acts that preceded this eventful affair, while Lieut. George R. Gleig in his narrative (2d edition, London, in 1826) speaks gloatingly as an invader of the stirring occurrences at Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans. With these standard histories we are all familiar, but the graphic recital by Dr James Ewell, at that period the leading physician of Washington, of the British occupation of our city is probably unknown to the majority of our citizens.

* The Committee on Publications deem it proper to state that in the case of the present paper they have made an exception to the general rule that only original contributions are published. This is done on account of the interest of the subject, and because of the rarity at the present day of the work of Dr Ewell, of which this contemporary record forms a part.

In the belief that it is in every sense worthy of being saved from oblivion as an interesting contribution to historical truth, I submit for your information extracts taken from what he called "a concise and impartial history of the capture of Washington," by a melancholy spectator of that awful tragedy. Dr Ewell possessed ample facilities to acquire the knowledge of all these facts, owing to the circumstance that his own residence, in a prominent site, located at the northeast corner of First and A streets southeast (lot 12, in square 729), facing the Capitol square, was the identical place selected by the commander of the British forces, Gen. Robert Ross, as his headquarters. (This square is now included in the grounds of the new Congressional Library building.) Dr Ewell's dwelling was presumably one of the most attractive on Capitol Hill, being the corner of the block of five houses known as Carroll row, owned by Daniel Carroll, of Duddington. It contained four stories, surmounted by a pitched roof. A flight of four broad stone steps led up to the massive front entrance, the door of which was adorned by a ponderous iron knocker that aroused the neighborhood when raised by some impatient caller in need of the always popular doctor. But now, having introduced the gentleman, I will permit him to unfold the story of his own experiences :

The 24th of August, 1814—that dark and dismal day! the darkest and most dismal of all in the American calendar, which threw such a gloom over the rising glories of my country!

But a short time before that awful tragedy I was congratulating myself—so little do we know what is before us—as being happily situated in a city founded by the great Washington himself and called after his name—a city where liberal nature had done so much and where art and population alone were requisite to erect an emporium that should vie with the noblest cities of the ancient world and through time immemorial display the grandeur of its high original.

But a few days, I say, before this I was indulging a train of thoughts so pleasing to the patriotic bosom, when I heard that the British squadron in the Cehsapeake bay, having received a reinforcement, had landed a small army at Benedict, on the river Patuxent. Many of my neighbors appeared to be much alarmed that the enemy should be so near; but, for myself, I can truly say that my bosom was never more entirely a stranger to panic than at that season; for I was firmly persuaded that the enemy could have no other object in view than the destruction of our flotilla, which, unfortunately, had been chased, some weeks before, up the Patuxent. I could not for a moment suppose it possible that he would have had the temerity to approach this place, particularly after giving so long notice of the arrival of the van of Admiral Cockburn's fleet, which was about the middle of July, and it was very natural for them to expect our Government would adopt the necessary precaution of having a force competent at least to prevent the destruction of our city.*

What! to make an attack on Washington, the metropolis of the United States, and in the interior, too, fifty miles from their shipping, with woods and forests enough between to give our marksmen an opportunity to cut off ten times their number! Under these circumstances, will they ever dream of attacking Washington? No, never! With far better chance they attacked Fort Stevenson, and also Sackett's Harbor and Fort Erie, but the gallant Croghan, Brown, Backus, Scott, Gaines, Ripley, Towson, etc, soon gave them

* The city of Washington contained in 1814 about 2,000 houses, mostly in scattered settlements. The population was estimated at—

City	10,000
County	2,500
Georgetown	6,000
Alexandria (city and county)	9,500
Total	28,000

in the District of Columbia, including the 1,800 slaves and 1,700 free colored persons.

cause to repent of their temerity. And will they now dare invade the city of Washington, with such an immense population between and such large cities to aid, and the President, Mr Monroe, General Armstrong, Captain Jones, and General Winder to protect? Such was my reasoning, and a very fair way of reasoning, too, I thought; and I was encouraged in this belief by learning that the President and his Cabinet were in high spirits, and that General Winder, with only a small detachment of his army, under the command of the gallant Major Peter, of Georgetown, had held the enemy in check for a day or two.

But, behold! on the evening of the 23d General Winder retreated precipitately to Washington. However, I was not still without some consolation, for on the same evening Colonel Minor, with his regiment from Virginia, arrived in the city a little after sunset. Immediately on his arrival he requested me to present him to the President, which I did, as I also did my worthy schoolmate, Dr Peake, surgeon of the regiment.

We had not long been seated before the President observed that Colonel Minor ought to have reported himself to the Secretary of War; consequently we hastened to the lodgings of General Armstrong. After Colonel Minor had held a short interview with the Secretary, he returned with me to my house. On the way, instead of animating my hopes, he became, as it were, Job's comforter, observing—such was the astonishing indifference manifested on this occasion—that he felt no hesitation to declare it as his opinion that the city would be sacrificed. Instead of being immediately supplied with arms and ammunition, he was, it seems, instructed to make his men put in order the few guns which they had brought with them, and in the morning to report himself to Colonel Carbery, who would furnish additional arms. Early next morning Colonel Minor made application for the arms, but was informed Colonel Carbery had gone out to his country-seat the evening before. After several hours spent in most painful waiting for

his return, Colonel Minor was authorized by General Winder to get the arms by any means. About this time Colonel Carbery rode up; but, behold! another cause of delay was presented. The arms were dealt out at last, but without flints, and, instead of throwing them out by handfuls, they were actually counted out, one by one, as carefully as if they had been so many guineas; and it is a fact that after counting out a considerable number the man employed in this economizing business, fearing he had miscounted, insisted upon counting them over again.

Thus was our Republic, at this awful crisis, deprived of the services of Colonel Minor and his regiment; for, in consequence of the above shameful delay, they were not able to join the army before the retreat.

Receiving good information that the enemy was in rapid march for Bladensburg, General Winder, then lying near the Eastern Branch bridge, moved on to meet him there, where General Stansbury, with his brigade from Baltimore, was stationed.

The reader will observe that Bladensburg is a small village, about five miles from the capital, on the Anacostia or Eastern branch, where it is narrowed to a creek, which is passed on a bridge and is everywhere above fordable. The village lies on the east side of this creek. On the west is a fine rising ground, with fences and bushes, favorable to an invaded force of good marksmen, besides a small breast-work which was hastily cast up. This spot Generals Winder and Stansbury fixed on to receive the enemy, who, about twelve o'clock, came in full view on the hills of Bladensburg, and very soon afterwards the battle commenced.

The enemy, finding on getting near the bridge he should have to pass a defile between the creek and marsh in front of our battery, instantly displayed a heavy column to the right and passed the ford higher up the creek. This judicious movement, by depriving our men of the promised advantages of their battery, as also presenting an appearance of an attempt to surround them, excited their alarm and

despondence. The British, having but one or two six-pounders and knowing that the whole success of the expedition depended on carrying everything with a "coup de main," pushed on with a rapidity and firmness which raw troops were not to have been expected to resist, and consequently a general rout of the militia ensued.

That the enemy would have met with a very different reception had our troops been in a tolerable state of preparation is evident from the following fact: The gallant Barney, Martin, and their brave comrades, of the flotilla, and Miller, Sevier, and Grayson, of the marine corps, were on the field of battle, but caught nothing of the epidemic fright. On the contrary, eager to stop the progress of the enemy, they came up in a trot, opening at the same time a destructive fire, which made hideous lanes through the British columns; but these columns were familiar with the ravages of death, and, fighting under the eye of Ross and headed by Thornton, Wood, and Brown, fearlessly filling up the chasms of fate, pushed forward with undaunted courage; but it was not for a few hundred troops to repel the enemy, and at length, overpowered by such vast superiority of numbers, their ammunition wagons retreating and themselves nearly surrounded, they were constrained to retire, leaving their commanding officers, the gallant Barney and Miller, dangerously wounded on the field.

I shall not attempt to describe my feelings during this awful conflict between the enemy and my countrymen. From the frequent advices brought that morning of the approach of the enemy, as also from the general movement of our troops to meet him at Bladensburg, the inhabitants of Washington had been some time in a state of extreme anxiety, expecting every moment the report of the guns that should announce the commencement of the battle.

Between 12 and 1, while with my trembling family in the third story of my house, we beheld the rockets ascending, and soon heard the roar of cannon. When the firing had ceased, my feelings were left in fearful fluctuation, now

fondly hoping that my countrymen had prevailed, then awfully fearing that all was lost. This anguish of suspense was, however, but momentary. I soon discovered the dust beginning to rise above the forests in thick clouds, on whose dark tops, growing larger and larger every minute and rapidly advancing, I read the dismal fate that awaited us. Presently I beheld the unfortunate Secretary of War and suite in full flight, followed by crowds of gentlemen on horse-back, some of whom loudly bawled out as they came on "Fly, fly! the ruffians are at hand! If you cannot get away yourselves, for God's sake send off your wives and daughters, for the ruffians are at hand!"

When I surveyed the extended lines of our infantry and cavalry enveloped in clouds of dust, as if universal nature was in tumultuous motion, all heightened by the fearful apprehension that the horrid scenes exhibited by the enemy in Hampton and Havre de Grace were about to be enacted in Washington, I felt myself palsied with horror, and as if the measure of my distress was not yet full, my wife, standing by my side with looks wild with terror, as though she beheld the enemy in sight, cried out, "Oh! what shall we do? what shall we do? yonder they are coming!" and fell into convulsions, my two daughters shrieking by her side. The reader, especially if he be an affectionate husband, may form some idea of my affliction. I shall not attempt to describe it.

Supposing now that the tragedy of destruction was about to commence, and finding it impossible to obtain even a cart to remove my family to the country, I took my wife and two daughters, a little before sunset, and, leaving my house and property in the hands of servants, went to the house of a sick lady. Although Mrs Orr, the lady whom I allude to, did not live more than a hundred yards from my house, I considered it a place of greater safety, as her extreme ill state of health would doubtless have protected her, even had the enemy been, as was represented, "ruffians." Moreover, I was induced to go to the house of Mrs Orr in consequence

of her earnest entreaties, as her husband was from home, and some of her servants had run off with the frightened multitude, leaving her in a situation truly distressing.

About twilight the enemy made his appearance in the city, which was announced by the firing of muskets from the house of Mr Sewall,* followed by several volleys from the British. The fire of our men from Mr Sewall's house killed two British soldiers, wounded several, and killed the horse of Major General Ross. The consequence was, this house was immediately set on fire and much valuable furniture consumed with it; and I was informed by some of the British officers that it was a most fortunate thing that Major General Ross was not killed, for in that event it would have been impossible to have restrained the soldiery, who idolized him, from committing the most horrid outrages, both on our city and its inhabitants.

It was not many minutes after the exhibition of this scene before we were presented with the spectacle so much dreaded—a full view of the advance of the British army in the Capitol square. About this time the navy yard was committed to flames by Commodore Tingey, in pursuance of orders from Secretary Jones, and very soon afterwards the British set fire to the Capitol, the President's house, and the War office. The Treasury office shared a similar fate the next morning. The conflagration of these noble and splendid buildings spread a glare over the night that was truly awful. But the conflagration of our large, new frigate, nearly ready to launch, and the new sloop-of-war, equipped, with all the adjacent magazines, filled with naval stores, exhibited an appearance still incomparably more terrific.†

* Mr Sewall's house was on the northwest corner of Second street and Maryland avenue northeast.

† The total value of the public property destroyed was about \$1,000,000. The Anacostia bridge (Benning's) was burnt by our own army; the Eastern Branch bridge (Pennsylvania avenue) by Captain Creighton, under orders of the Secretary of the Navy, while the Potomac bridge (Long bridge) was set on fire by the British at the city end and by our own forces at the Virginia side.

In common with other men I have drunk of the bitter cup of affliction, but it was reserved for that doleful night to teach me that private misfortune weighs but as the dust in the balance against the far heavier load of public calamity. To behold so great a calamity as this—the Capital of our country seized upon by a small army and all its grand public buildings and ships wrapped in flames—what wonder that it should have filled all hearts with consternation, and even frightened some into convulsions!

Had such a number of troops as military men might have deemed sufficient been timely provided for the defense of the metropolis, and had those troops, in all points well prepared, gone forth and met the enemy in a gallant conflict, the feelings of the nation even under discomfiture would not have been so grievously wounded, "for the victory is of God." But so shamefully was the public interest and honor sported with on this occasion that nothing but the overthrow of the enemy at Niagara, Chippewa, Erie, Sandusky, and New Orleans, together with the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, could ever again elevate the countenance of an American citizen, or enable him to support the spirit and dignity of a man, for when the British, four thousand strong, made their appearance on the hills of Bladensburg, dressed in their crimson uniforms, and began to press on to the charge, our militiamen, about six thousand, generally gave way; and without wonder, for nothing had been done to prepare them for such a conflict.

Raw troops, suddenly brought together and taken, as it were, by surprise, were, as is very natural, seized with consternation. Some of the officers, bewildered, seemed at a loss who should command, the men whom to obey; some were destitute of arms, others of ammunition, and many, by long marching and countermarching, without rest or refreshment, were so broken down that they were not able to sustain such a shock.

But while I lament the causes which led to the discomfiture of the militia in general, I feel it my duty to recognize

those smaller and therefore still more glorious exceptions, the District militia, or at least those who were on the field of battle. So far from their running or retreating in disorder, they generally exhibited every mark of heroism, particularly the volunteer companies, who did not withdraw until ordered the second time to retreat.

I have thought it a duty I owe my countrymen thus to dwell on this disastrous affair as furnishing an instructive lesson, at any rate, to all future Secretaries of War. I must confess, however, that I find much comfort in the belief that no disaster of this sort is to be apprehended while the office continues to be filled by the Hon. William H. Crawford, whose talents and virtues are so highly and deservedly appreciated.

How an undisciplined militia under such distressing circumstances as above related will behave on any future occasion may be awfully inferred from their behavior in the past. Soon as the enemy began to throw his rockets many of the raw militiamen, at sight of these strange shooting stars, as they were ascending, roared out, "See, see! There they go, there they go!" But when the rockets were seen descending in a direction towards themselves they loudly bawled out again, "No; here they come, here they come!" and, dropping their guns, fled like frightened sheep in every direction, except, indeed, towards the enemy.

A gentleman, a short distance beyond Bladensburg, bearing the report of the cannon, immediately rode towards the field of battle, but before he had gone far he met several companies of the militia in full flight. "What!" says he, "soldiers, you are not running?" "Oh, no!" exclaimed one of them; "we have done our duty; our ammunition is spent. We gave it to them, boys, didn't we?" "Yes," returned his companions; "we peppered the rascals; we strewed the d—d redcoats, and if the others will only do their duty, not one of them will ever get back to their vessels." The gentleman, suspecting their poltroonism and obtaining by stratagem a

peep into their cartridge-boxes, found they were full, except the single cartridge with which their guns were loaded.

Another anecdote and I have done. A militia officer making his retreat attempted by way of a short cut to cross a deep, oozy marsh, which presently stopped both himself and his horse. In endeavoring to extricate himself he received a small scratch, which made him bawl out, "I am wounded! I am mortally wounded!" Some of the soldiers, supposing from his cries that the British were close at their heels, only ran the faster. However, a few, wiping their eyes and not beholding the dazzling redcoats, went to his relief. On examining the back part of his thigh, where he said he had received his mortal wound, they found it to be nothing more than a prick of his own spur.

With such disorderly, panic-struck creatures, who but must commend General Winder for ordering a retreat, not, indeed, to save these fugitives, for they took care to save themselves, but to save the flower of our gallant yeomanry, who were eager for a conflict wherein, at such odds against them, they must certainly have perished, for it was but too plain that our sacred Capitol was doomed to fall.

Never shall I forget my tortured feelings when I beheld that noble edifice wrapt in flames, which, bursting through the windows and mounting far above its summits, with a noise like thunder, filled all the saddened night with a dismal gloom.

To heighten our alarms and those of Mrs Orr, we were suddenly startled by a most tremendous rapping at the door. Soon as the door was opened five or six British soldiers presented themselves, asking very politely for something to eat. Instantly a cold ham, with loaf bread and butter and wine, were set before them, which they partook of, conducting themselves with the utmost good behavior.

Presently I beheld a light in every room in my house, which, with the reflection from the Capitol, then in flames, led me to fear it was on fire. Not having removed any part of my property, and anxious to save at least my medical

library, I communicated my fears to the soldiers who were at supper and solicited their aid. The sergeant observed he could not think it possible my house was on fire, but, at any rate, if I thought so, he and his men were ready to go with me and give all the aid in their power. In a few minutes, however, I found out my mistake by the sudden extinction of the lights, and also by the arrival of my servant, who informed me that my house had been plundered by the British soldiers. While I was standing at the door, the Rev Mr McCormick came up and told me, if I would accompany him, he would introduce me to Major General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, with whom he had been conversing and found them to be "perfect gentlemen." Hoping from this circumstance to derive security to my house and what property remained, I readily accompanied him and was introduced, as he thought, to General Ross, but it was unwittingly to the admiral, who rectified the mistake of the reverend gentleman by saying, in his quick and piercing tone, "My name is Cockburn, sir." I told him I had understood that private property was to be held sacred, and that I placed implicit confidence in the report. He answered that "it would be so deemed." I replied that "some of my furniture, apparel, and plate had been plundered."

"With whom did you confide your property, sir?"

I answered, "With my servants."

"Well, sir, let me tell you it was very ill confidence to repose your property in the care of servants."

In the meantime General Ross came up, to whom I was also introduced. He had just come in time to infer from what Admiral Cockburn had said that my house had been robbed. In a tone that will forever endear him to me as a "perfect gentleman" indeed, he observed he was very sorry to hear that my house had been disturbed, and begged that I would tell him which it was and he would order a sentinel to guard it. We were then standing before my door, the south end of Carroll's row, facing the Capitol.

"This is my house, sir," said I.

With an amiable embarrassment he replied, "Why, sir, this is the house we had pitched on for our headquarters."

I told him "I was glad of it and regretted that he had not taken it earlier, as my property would then have been protected."

He observed he "could never think of trespassing on the repose of a private family, and would order his baggage out of my house immediately."

I earnestly begged he would still consider it as his headquarters.

"Well, sir," said he, "since you are so good as to insist on my staying at your house, I consent; but I will endeavor to give you as little trouble as possible. Any apartment under your roof will suffice me."

I asked him to accompany me and I would show him a room. He assented and I conducted him to my own bed-chamber, which was the best furnished in my house, with an uncommonly large mattress on the bed. He refused for some time to accept of it, and insisted I should go and bring Mrs Ewell home, observing that I might depend on it my family should be just as safe as they were the evening before, when the American army was here; "for," continued he, "I am myself a married man, have several sweet children, and venerate the sanctities of the conjugal and domestic relations."

I feel no fear of offending my virtuous countrymen by exhibiting even in an enemy such strokes of refinement and generosity as these. Thank God, such achievements are too congenial with their own spirit and manners not to be read with pleasure.

The commander-in-chief of a victorious army, carrying himself with such consummate modesty and politeness to those whom the fortune of war had placed in his power, is a spectacle too honorable to human nature and too conducive to the general good to give offense.

In all wars there are brutes on both sides, whose savage examples would turn men into demons and war into a

horrid struggle for mutual slaughter and extermination. All are concerned to oppose examples so detestable. Then let all unfurl the counter-examples of those heroic spirits who mourn over the calamities which they are obliged to inflict, and treat the vanquished as brothers. The lovely sight will attract the eyes of all, and while they admire they may imitate. With this fond hope I shall go on occasionally to entertain my readers with such anecdotes of the British officers as may contribute, now that the war is at an end, to rekindle the pleasant flame of former friendship, and lead to the performance of those fraternal acts which will gratify the common parent of us all.

Having thus made a virtue of necessity, and from true policy as well as politeness left my house and furniture in possession of the British general and admiral, I went down to my family at Mrs Orr's.

The next morning, about the hour of breakfast, I returned, and as I approached my house I saw the soldier who was holding the horse of General Ross suddenly fall down in a fit. I hastened to the poor fellow and opened a vein, which gave him immediate relief. While I was attending to him a British sergeant came up at the head of a file of soldiers, one of whom desired me, rather roughly, to give him some water. Without suspecting offense, I called to my servant and ordered him to bring out a pitcher of water.

What meaning the Englishman could have attached to the word pitcher I know not, but, kindling into a violent passion, he exclaimed, "You d—d rebel, do you think I am a beast, to drink out of a pitcher?" At this moment General Ross, who had overheard the insolent language of his soldier, stepped up. The man, greatly abashed, instantly turned his face and seemed as if he would have shrunk among his comrades, but the general, with every mark of displeasure in his countenance, jerking him by the collar, exclaimed, "Villain, is this the way you speak to a gentleman, and in the moment, too, that he is doing a kindness to

a sick fellow-soldier of your own? Sergeant, what sort of a man is this?"

The sergeant, with considerable trepidation, replied, "Why, sir, he is a pretty good sort of a man, I believe, sir."

"A pretty good sort of a man, sir?" replied the general; "a pretty good sort of a man, to speak to a gentleman in this style! Very well, sir; this conduct shall not pass unnoticed."

He then turned to me, and after thanking me for my "goodness," as he called it, to his fainting soldier, observed that in all armies there were some scoundrels to be found, and that he was sorry to say that there were too many of that description in his army.

Some time after this, Mrs Ewell and my daughters came to Mrs McCardell's, next door to my house. As soon as Captain Palmer, who had been in her company at Mrs Orr's, saw her coming, he moved on with General Ross to meet her and very politely introduced her to him. The general shook her hand with every mark of undissembled friendship; expressed his deep regret to learn that she had been so seriously frightened, and lamented sincerely the necessity that had given cause to these tragedies, namely, the burning of the British capital in Canada. Had the capital of Canada been burnt with the approbation of our Government, there might have been some apology for the shameful destruction of our noble buildings, but I am happy in the belief that though this was the impression of General Ross, it was not an act of the Government.

Mrs Ewell, sensible of such unexpected attentions, made every acknowledgment that her confusion would permit and endeavored to relax her melancholy into a smile, but it was evidently an act of constraint. Grief was too deeply seated to be thus easily banished from her cheeks, which still wore the marks of tears and fright, and which evidently excited the tenderest sympathies of General Ross as well as of the other officers.

Mrs Ewell was but a short time at Mrs McCardell's

before Admiral Cockburn paid his respects to her, and in his apparently rough way asked, "Pray, madam, what could have alarmed you so? Did you take us for savages?" Her confusion preventing her from making a reply, he added, "Ay, madam, I can easily account for your terror. I see from the files in your house that you are fond of reading those papers which delight to make devils of us." It is but justice to Admiral Cockburn to declare that he frequently came to Mrs. McCardell's, making inquiries about the state of Mrs. Ewell's spirits and endeavoring to console her.

On my observing to General Ross that it was a great pity the elegant library had been burnt with the Capitol, he replied, with much concern, "I lament most sincerely I was not apprized of the circumstance, for had I known it in time the books would most certainly have been saved."

"Neither do I suppose, general," said I, "you would have burnt the President's house had Mrs. Madison remained at home."

"No, sir," replied he; "I make war neither against letters nor ladies, and I have heard so much in praise of Mrs. Madison that I would rather protect than burn a house which sheltered such an excellent lady."

The saying that "brave men are always generous" was signally illustrated in the pleasure that General Ross manifested in praising Commodore Barney for his behavior in the battle of Bladensburg.

"A brave officer, sir," said he. "He had only a handful of men with him, and yet he gave us a very severe shock. I am sorry he was wounded. However, I immediately gave him a parole and I hope he will do well. Had half your army," continued he, "been composed of such men as the commodore commanded, with the advantage you had in choosing your position, we should never have got to your city."

What evidenced more the magnanimity of this officer, he never uttered an expression in my presence against the Presi-

dent or any of the officers of the Government, but often expressed the deepest regret that war had taken place between two nations so nearly allied in consanguinity and interest. I can, moreover, truly say I never saw the sunbeam of one cheerful smile on General Ross all the time he was in Washington. His countenance seemed constantly shrouded in the close shades of a thoughtful mind.

The favorable opinion which the reader has formed of General Ross will not be lessened by the following facts:

The morning after the conflagration a silly man from Ohio, mounted on an elegant horse, came to the British camp. What was his object is to this day a secret; but, at any rate, to guard against the worst the British officers took him up, and would no doubt have been glad to have gotten his horse. For my own part, I was of opinion at first that he was a traitor, and therefore took particular notice of him. Presently an affair happened which served to persuade me that my opinion had been erroneous. Considering it doubtful whether the officers would let him go, he came to the desperate resolution to mount his horse and make his escape, placing his safety on the speed of the animal. He had scarcely started before Major Hamilton, an aid of General Ross, with two or three sergeants, mounted their best horses and went in full pursuit. The hue and cry after him spread like lightning, and few races ever attracted more spectators or made more noise in so short a time. They had not, however, run more than a mile towards the Eastern branch before the horse of the Ohio man fell and by some means or other broke the legs of the rider.

The regret which General Ross expressed at the fate of the poor man indicated a most feeling heart, and he assured me that it was not his intention to have detained the man or his horse longer than the evening. He then ordered the animal to be put in my stable, with a request that I would have him restored to the owner.

The British soldier who was ordered to take the horse to my stable muttered exceedingly that so elegant a horse

should be given up, and as soon as the general had set out with the army the same fellow came back with a lie in his mouth, saying he was ordered by the general to take the horse away. I was at a loss how to act. However, not finding myself out of danger, I delivered him up; but, behold! the next morning Daniel Carroll, Esq., of Duddington, rode to my house and congratulated me that my horse was safe. I told him yes, through the goodness of the commanding officer, my horse was given up to me immediately on making application, and that he then was in my stable.

"Why," said he, with some surprise, "I was instructed by Mr Sewall to inform you that General Ross had left your horse in the care of Captain Gantt."

This amiable officer, it seems, seeing the horse next morning in camp and knowing the history of him, could not rest until he had placed him in the hands of Captain Gantt on the road, with a request that he would deliver him to me, for that I knew how he was to be disposed of.

All generous Americans will doubtless pronounce Major General Ross a magnanimous enemy. Surely the instances already cited prove his claim to that high character, and surely he deserves it who, when told that our barracks, which, according to the usages of war, he had condemned, could not be burnt without injuring private property, immediately countermanded his own order and thus saved to us that noble range of buildings.

As nothing is more pleasing than to meet with instances of generosity in an enemy, I cannot forbear recording some traits of the magnanimous sort in the character of Admiral Cockburn. At this I know some of my readers will startle. "What! magnanimous traits in Admiral Cockburn! Impossible!" To such I beg leave only to say I am about to state facts which came under my own notice, and, as they are honorable to that human nature of which we all partake, I trust they will afford pleasure to every reader who has a soul to enjoy a virtuous action, though in an enemy.

The terror struck into the good people of our city by the

capture and conflagration as aforesaid rolled on in such conglomerating floods to Alexandria that by the time it reached that place it had acquired a swell of mountainous horrors, that appear to have entirely prostrated the spirits of the Alexandrians. Men, women, and children in that defenseless place saw nothing in their frightened fancies but the sudden and total destruction of their rising city by the British army then at Washington and the British squadron, under Captain Gordon, coming up the river.

In this alarming situation they very wisely determined to throw themselves on the generosity of the enemy and supplicate security for their town on the humble conditions of capitulation. As men in time of their troubles seem naturally to look for a blessing through the ministration of the godly, the Alexandrians selected four of their citizens distinguished for piety and morals—as Drs Muir and Dick and Messrs Jonathan Swift and William Swann. They arrived during the dreadful tornado which we experienced on that memorable day, and, as I happened to be sitting in my dining-room with Admiral Cockburn when these delegates presented themselves, I had a fair opportunity to hear every word that passed on this occasion. Soon as they communicated to the admiral the object of their mission he replied, with the brevity that characterized him, “Gentlemen, I have nothing to say until you first tell me whether Captain Gordon is in sight of Alexandria or not.”

The reply was that Captain Gordon was not in sight of Alexandria.

“Well, then, gentlemen,” continued he, “I am ready to negotiate with you. And now all I have to say is that we want provisions and must have them; but let me tell you that for every article we take you shall be allowed a fair price.”

Upon this they very soon retired.

Scarcely had those gentlemen left Admiral Cockburn before one of his officers entered the room and told him that

the bank* could not be burnt without injuring private property.

"Well, then," said he, sternly, "pull it down."

Though I felt somewhat of awe in the presence of this son of Neptune, yet I could not here refrain from interposing for the safety of the bank.

"Admiral Cockburn," said I, "you do not wish to injure private property?" "No," said he, "I do not; but this is public property."

"No, sir," I continued, "the United States have no bank here now; this is altogether private property."

"Are you certain of that," said he. "Yes, sir," I replied, "I pledge my honor it is private property."

"Well, then," said he to the officer, "let it alone."

There was another case in which I had the satisfaction to save the property of a valuable citizen. As I was standing on the pavement near my door, which, as I said, the general and admiral had used as headquarters, a British officer observed in my presence, "Well, we shall be done with burning when the rope-walks are burnt and that handsome building yonder," pointing at the house of my pious and worthy neighbor, Elias B. Caldwell, Esq.

"Why, certainly you are not going to burn that house, Captain," said I. "Yes, sir," replied he, "we shall." "It is not public property," I said. "No matter for that; there is public property at the house," alluding to some cartridges and cartridge-boxes which had been left there; "and besides," continued he, "it belongs to a man who has been very active against us."

"It is true," replied I, "Mr Caldwell is captain of a volunteer company and a brave man: but brave men do not bear malice against each other for doing their duty; on the contrary, respect them the more for it, as General Ross yesterday did Commodore Barney, and therefore I hope that as

* The bank sought to be destroyed was the Bank of Washington, then located on lot 7, square 690, New Jersey avenue southeast, near B street. The original building is still in existence.

this house is private property it will not be destroyed." He paused for a moment, then went to General Ross, who, I suppose, put a stop to it, for the house was not burnt.

I did also what I could to save the rope-walks* of Rev Mr Chalmers, Mr Ringgold, and Mr Heath, but it was in vain, for they observed that they were determined to spare nothing that made in favor of our navy.

I will relate another anecdote of the admiral, and let the reader judge for himself:

On the 25th, in the afternoon, just as the general and admiral, who were standing on the pavement at my door, were notified by their servant that dinner was ready, a dirty-looking woman, stained with blood, came running up and screaming out as she came, "O, I am killed, I am killed! a British sailor has killed me!"

Instantly Admiral Cockburn, with every mark of indignation in his countenance, gave orders for the sailors to be mustered on parade, and that the man whom she designated as the perpetrator of the act should be shot at the Capitol without one moment's delay.

The general and admiral, with their suites, then went up to dinner, leaving Dr Doddy and myself to examine the wounds of the woman, whom we had conveyed to the hospital. On finding this poor wretch, in her drunken delirium, sometimes cursing a British sailor and sometimes an American soldier as her murderer, and was in no condition to designate who had inflicted the wounds, which, after all the noise, were quite fleshy and slight, I requested Dr Doddy to communicate her situation to the admiral, to prevent an innocent person from suffering death on her account. Presently the doctor returned with the compliments of General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, who wished to see me.

I went up and found that they had dined, but the table covered with wine. General Ross, politely bowing and waving

*All the rope-walks were in East Washington.

his hand to a chair that stood by him, invited me to sit down and take a glass of wine with them. Admiral Cockburn, then addressing me, said: "We were determined, sir, to have the British sailor shot who stabbed that poor woman, but it gives us pleasure to learn that it is your opinion her wounds are not mortal. As she has, however, been wounded, and more than probable by one of our men, we think it but just she should be cured at our expense. That part of the business we shall be obliged to confide to you, and for your trouble we beg you to accept of this trifle." Then he reached out to me a parcel of gold—six doubloons.

After thanking him for such generosity I told him he must excuse me from taking so large a fee. "The wounds," said I, "Admiral Cockburn, are altogether flesh wounds, of which she will soon recover; and my attentions to her, even though I was influenced solely by pecuniary considerations, cannot deserve so large a reward."

At that word his face reddened and he exclaimed: "Large, my good sir! We are only mortified to think it is so small, but it is, I assure you, all the specie we have with us. If you will accept a bill on our government, we will make it better worth your services."

I told him I could not accept a bill, for that the fee he now tendered was much too ample. He, however, pressed it on me with an earnestness which I could no longer resist.

Nothing, to be sure, was ever more providential than the receipt of this money. I do not mean for the wounded woman, for she, a common strumpet, being slightly hurt, soon got well without much aid of the admiral's doubloons; but I allude to worthier subjects. I allude to the sick and wounded of the American and British soldiers, who, but for this supply, must—some of them, at least—have inevitably perished; for, to be caudid, all my funds were exhausted previous to the conflagration in affording refreshments to my friends and wearied countrymen who needed such hospitalities and who had nobly volunteered their services in the defense of the metropolis.

There was, for example, John Stockton, of the rifle corps, from Baltimore, commanded by the gallant Major Piukney, who lay very desperately wounded for two days on the field of battle. By mere accident hearing of his situation, I pressed a cider cart from the country and had him brought in, extracted the ball, dressed his wounds, which were assuming a gangrenous state, and plentifully supplied him for several weeks with the best nourishment from my table. Thus was this worthy soldier snatched from the yawning grave.

There were also forty-seven of the British soldiers who were most miserably mangled by the terrible explosion at Greenleaf's point, the greater part of whom would certainly have perished, as the Government made no provision for them until after the third day, had it not been for the admiral's gold, which, by immediate transmutation into sugar, coffee, tea, milk, rice, arrow-root, bread, meats, vegetables, and fruits, was early applied to sustain their exhausted frames.

It may gratify the generous reader on more accounts than one to hear the tragical history of that affair. About 2 o'clock on the 25th a British captain, with a company of soldiers, marched down on Greenleaf's point to destroy the powder magazine. On reaching the spot they found the magazine empty, the powder the day before having been taken out and thrown into a dry well. The British, being strangers to this fact, threw a lighted match into the well. A most tremendous explosion ensued, whereby the officers and about thirty of the men were killed and the rest most shockingly mangled. Some of these unfortunate victims of gunpowder were seen flying in the air to great distances, and others were totally buried alive under tons of earth thrown upon them. The survivors were carefully brought up on the Capitol hill, and those in the most distressed situation were lodged in Carroll's buildings, adjoining my house.

I never saw more endearing marks of sympathy than were

here exhibited on the countenance of General Ross. He observed, looking at me with an eye of searching anxiety, "I am much distressed at leaving these poor fellows behind me. I do not know who is to mitigate their sufferings."

I understood his meaning, and instantly assured him that he need not make himself uneasy on account of his wounded soldiers. "The Americans, General Ross," said I, "are of the same origin as yourself. We have, I trust, given you many splendid instances of our humanity in the course of this unfortunate war; and you may rely on it, sir, no attentions in my power shall be withheld from them." He gave me a look of gratitude which I shall never forget, and then turning towards his men where they lay, burnt, bruised, and mangled, on the floor, he silently gazed at their deplorable state with that God-like sensibility, near melting into tears, which strongly brought to my recollection these beautiful lines of Darwin:

No radiant pearl which crested Fortune wears,
No gem that twinkling hangs from Beauty's eyes,
Not the bright stars which night's blue arch adorn,
Nor rising sun that gilds the vernal morn,
Shine with such luster as the tear that breaks
For other's woe down Virtue's manly cheeks.

After a few moments spent in silent sympathy he observed, "I presume mattresses and suitable refreshments can be obtained for them in Georgetown." From this I was induced to believe he intended to march in that direction for the purpose of destroying Mr Foxall's foundry; but in this I was agreeably mistaken, for as soon as night approached and large fires were kindled along their lines the enemy decamped and returned to their shipping by the same route in which they came.

As General Ross was about to mount his horse he took leave of me in a respectful manner; repeated his regret for the robbery committed on my property by his men, and assured me that for those injuries, as also for the services I

had promised his sick and wounded men he left behind him, I should be rewarded.

Very early the next morning I set myself to the performance of what I owed to the sick. All the refreshments that the utmost cleanliness of both bed and board could yield, all the vigor and spirits that nourishing diet could impart, and all the relief that suitable medicines could afford, were plentifully supplied to those unfortunate sufferers, and with the assistance of Dr William Baker, of Georgetown, who generously volunteered his services, the fractured limbs and wounds were set and dressed, to their exceeding comfort, by the evening.

After a few days Dr Baker and myself were notified by Dr Worthington that he was appointed by the Government to take charge of the British prisoners. I expressed much surprise that an arrangement of this sort had been made with so little regard for my feelings, since I had been all along attending those unfortunate sufferers, and had, through a kind Providence, rendered them those services without which, it is well known, many of them must have inevitably perished. I also observed that after my solemn promise made to General Ross I should never forgive myself if I abandoned his men.

Dr Worthington replied that the affair might be easily accommodated, for, as he was appointed to superintend the hospital at Bladensburg as well as this in Washington, making together a sum of duties more than he could discharge, he would be glad of my assistance.

In this way the British sick still continued the objects of my medical attention, and, I am most happy to add, so signal were the smiles of Providence on my exertions in their behalf that, although the bilious fever and dysentery raged in the hospital and encampments with a violence that swept off numbers of my own countrymen, yet not one of the British sank under their affliction except Dr Monteith.

This extraordinary success is to be ascribed, I shall ever think, as much to moral as to medical cause. Cleanliness,

fresh air, and pleasant restorative diet contributed much, no doubt, to that desirable event, but not more, I firmly believe, than did the continued efforts that were made to keep up the spirits of my patients and to render their minds habitually cheerful. Apprehensive that the recollection of being our prisoners might give that morbid irritability to their minds which by destroying the spirits would retard the cure, I studiously avoided everything of that malignant tendency, and as diligently redoubled my efforts to gratify as far as I was able their wishes and to anticipate their wants.

Had General Ross but lived I am confident I should have been liberally remunerated for the articles which were taken from my house, as well as for my medical attentions to his men and for the supplies over and above the allowance made by my own Government; but should I never receive a cent from the British government, I am not left without reward. The recollection of having done unto these afflicted foreigners as I would they had done unto me is a source of the liveliest satisfaction to me as a man, besides what I enjoy as an American, on comparing my conduct with that of Captain Shortland, of Dartmoor prison; General Procter, of the army in Upper Canada, as also Colonel Elliot, who, after having pledged himself to protect his wounded prisoner, Captain Hart, an old and intimate acquaintance of his, and brother-in-law of those distinguished characters the Honorable H. Clay and James Brown, suffered him to be inhumanly butchered by the Indian tomahawk.

But sorry am I to add that for my kindness to the British prisoners I got no thanks from some of my neighbors. On the contrary, a few of them, at least, were so enraged against me that they branded me as a **TRAITOR AND A FRIEND TO THE BRITISH!** And, indeed, I have no doubt had these unthinking people but possessed a power equal to their passions they would have acted in this fair city of Washington the same horrid tragedies as did the blind mob in Paris

under Robespierre and Marat, and have made me the bloody victim of their diabolical rage and fury. But I am truly happy to state that these men were not Americans. No, they were emigrants, and, which is astonishing, they were the very countrymen of those wounded prisoners to whom I afforded that aid which man owes to the unfortunate.

The truth is, these men finding, on their return from flight before the British army, their houses had been plundered of a few articles, fell into such a rage that they were instantly for blowing up the British prisoners and hanging me for having treated them with the tenderness which their condition as sick and wounded prisoners required.

Thank God, these inconsiderate men were among a people who would give them no countenance in such diabolical acts. They were surrounded by charitable Americans, who, with the most tenacious regard to their own rights, cherished an equal regard to the rights of others, and therefore hold in proper detestation those infernal mobs that would swallow up the rights of all and convert society into the greatest of curses.

I have much pleasure in contemplating the contrast exhibited in the spirit and conduct of that estimable and faithful disciple of Christ, the Reverend Mr Brackenridge, who, although a great sufferer by the British in Washington, was among the first to afford comforts and consolations to the wounded and otherwise afflicted prisoners. He prayed among enemies!

Yes, I rejoice to state that my virtuous countrymen were not implicated with those unthinking men. So far from menacing me for an act of mercy, which man eternally owes to man, they most heartily applauded me for it, and if I could possibly require any greater pleasure than that which I feel when I think of what I did for those poor sick strangers I should find it in the commendations bestowed on me not only by my worthy countrymen who are denominated Federalists, but also by the Republicans, and those especially whose esteem I most highly prized, as Charles

Carroll, Esq, of Bellvue; John Graham, Esq; General Van Ness, Colonel Brent, Dr Thornton, the Rev Mr Chalmers, Mr McKenny, the Honorable G. W. Campbell, Gailard, Cheves, Lowndes, Troup, Cuthbert, Eppes, Jackson, Gholson, Hawes, Condict, McKim, Ringgold, Desha, Chapel, &c., &c.

When these worthy patriots understood that I had visited those afflicted captives and rendered them aid before the hand of government had been extended to their relief, they expressed their high approbation of my conduct, and several of them came to my house and thanked me for an act so honorable to the character of the American people, and, above all, so pleasing to God, and therefore so sure to draw after it his blessing; and I am happy to add that his blessing in one goodly shape at least was soon visited upon us for this kindness to the British prisoners and through the medium of their gratitude.

Finding that instead of having been treated, as they expected, with great harshness for burning our Capitol, they had been treated with the utmost tenderness and hospitality, they were struck with admiration of our goodness to them. Not only their language but their looks afforded us daily the most pleasing assurances of their gratitude, and as soon as their health would allow they appeared as never so happy as when they were doing something to requite us as far as they were able.

To their great credit, I can say with truth that in some laudable degree this amiable spirit appeared to belong to most of them; but in some it was more especially and gloriously predominant. There were, for example, Sergeant Hutchinson, of the royal sappers and miners, and Alexander Gunn, of the Scotch fusiliers. Those two young men, though low in rank, should stand forever on the list of that virtuous fame which belongs to sensible and grateful dispositions. They acted as though they could never give proof enough of their love for the Americans, and it is a sacred truth that when the American soldiers shrunk, as was sometimes the

case, from their sick and dying comrades through fear of the infection, these English soldiers volunteered their services, sat up with the sick, washed the bodies of the dead, and performed all of the last sad offices of humanity with as much tenderness as though the deceased had been their own relatives and friends; and it is but justice to these Englishmen to declare that to their favorable reports of our kindness to them on this occasion were to be ascribed many noble instances of British politeness to our worthy citizens who fell into their hands.

That very amiable gentleman and distinguished physician, Dr Beans, of Marlborough, was made prisoner by the British as they were retreating to their vessels. The benevolent Francis Scott Key, Esq, of Georgetown, learning this, immediately obtained letters from Sergeant Hutchinson and others of the prisoners, and went with a flag on board the British squadron for his release. Soon as General Ross had perused the letter of Sergeant Hutchinson, detailing the generous treatment which he and his comrades had received, he issued orders for the immediate liberation of Dr Beans, although it had been previously determined that he should be sent to Bermuda. Thus by common acts of Christian charity to these poor captives a most valuable life was saved to his family and country.

Who does not in this behold another additional proof that the maddest policy on earth is REVENGE, and that the wisest philosophy under HEAVEN is that which teaches us "to love our enemies and do good for evil!" And besides its exceeding pleasure and advantage, where is the charm out of HEAVEN that so fascinates all hearts as that of God-like generosity to an enemy that is in our power? Take the following, which was communicated to me by Commodore Barney himself:

As this gallant officer lay on the battle ground, badly wounded and helpless, and his men by his own order all retreated from him, he beckoned to an English soldier to come to his assistance. The soldier instantly stepped up

and rendered the required service with as amiable an alacrity as to his own general. "You are a noble fellow!" said the commodore, "and I am sorry I have not a purse for you. But here's my gold watch; you are welcome to it."

"No, sir," replied the Englishman; "I can assist a brave man without being paid for it."

As I have somehow or other got into a string of anecdotes about the British exploits in Washington, I beg leave to mention one or two more. As Admiral Cockburn was looking at his men while they were throwing into the streets the types of the *National Intelligencer*, an American gentleman observed to him, "If General Washington had been alive, you would not have gotten into this city so easily." "No, sir," replied the admiral, "if General Washington had been President, we should never have thought of coming here."

When this was told me, I added: "No, sir; nor if even the chairman of the military committee had been Secretary of War would they have dared it." The chairman I allude to was the patriotic G. M. Troup, of Georgia, who was always for carrying on the war with the greatest energy, and who would at least have had a sufficient force, with an experienced commander, to defend the metropolis of the United States against an invading army of four thousand men.

As I have mentioned the name of Troup, I cannot forbear relating the following anecdote of this virtuous patriot. Besides the honor it does him, it is calculated to exalt the charm of that stern Spartan virtue which alone can give immortality to our Republic.

The colonel's younger brother, Dr James Troup, studied physic with me in Savannah, and while his uncommon talents excited my admiration, his gentle and affectionate spirit conciliated my esteem in the highest degree. At my request the Hon Paul Hamilton, formerly Secretary of the Navy, appointed him hospital surgeon for the State of Georgia during the war.

Colonel Troup, on learning from me that I had obtained

this commission for his brother, replied, with a look of strong disapprobation: "No, Doctor, it will not do. I thank you for your good wishes to my brother, but, sir, he must not accept the commission you have been so good as to procure for him. I know," continued he, "it is an appointment both of honor and profit, but still I can never consent to his taking it. It may be thought that I procured it for him, and I cannot bear the idea of using any influence that I may ever gain under Government to raise my relations into office."

After this long, though I hope not uninteresting digression, we will return to the bilious fever.

I have stated that Dr Monteith was the only victim of this disease among the British prisoners in the hospital here. Would to God there had perished but one in the American hospitals and encampments.

But, alas! my heart bleeds when I think how many thousands perished during this war. I do not mean the common hireling soldiery, who, destitute of all virtuous habits, are perhaps the fit victims of war. No; but I speak of the thousands of our virtuous yeomanry who, diseased or wounded in their country's service, have been cruelly sacrificed at the shrine of public neglect.

Think now of the following, which is but a common case: A regiment of brave patriots, notwithstanding the tears of wives, mothers, and sisters, set out full of spirits and eager to meet the enemy of their country.

Many of them had never, perhaps, walked ten miles in a day; are hurried on by an imprudent officer twenty or thirty miles, possibly, on the first day, with a heavy musket and knapsack on their shoulders. In the evening, broke down with unusual fatigue and their linen stiff with acrid perspiration, they halt for the night. Both in mind and body they require something to exhilarate and to strengthen, but, behold! in lieu of those refreshments which they had been accustomed to at home, only a little raw meat is offered for their bill of fare, and the cold earth, frequently without a tent, for their bed. What wonder that one fourth or fifth

of this regiment should the very next morning be laid up merely for lack of those provisions which certainly it was the duty of some officer or other under the Government to have supplied !

I have it from a gentleman who was on the spot that of a fine regiment of Virginia volunteers encamping precisely under these circumstances, near Snowden's iron works, upwards of two hundred were the next day on the sick list, several of whom died.

And there, for another example, were the five thousand who, according to the proverb of "locking the stable-door after the steed is stolen," were rapidly marched to Washington after the city was taken; after the Capitol, the President's house, War and Treasury offices were all burnt; after the navy yard and frigates were all demolished, and after the bridges were all burnt up—I say of those five thousand men, what awful numbers perished miserably, merely for lack of proper nourishment, medical attention, and suitable accommodation.

True it is, by order of the then acting Secretary of War a hospital was established here for the accommodation of the sick militia, but let not the reader lie under a mistake about this hospital. The word hospital signifies not only a receptacle for the sick, but a place for everything clean and sweet, and everything nourishing and healing, with skillful physicians and attentive nurses; but! alas, this hospital had no such meaning, the truth of which many members of Congress and citizens can attest.

The hospital was contiguous to the apartments occupied by the British sick whom I attended, and being frequently entreated by my countrymen who were not under my care to prescribe for them, I had a fair opportunity to witness their wretched situation, and I will declare before my God I have seen twenty or thirty sick militiamen brought in of a day to this hospital, where instead of the pleasant and cordial refreshments which their languid situation required, their rations of raw beef were thrown on a table, there lying for hours together for the poor sick soldiers to divide and

dress for themselves as they could; and, what was still more deplorable in this militia-murdering hospital, a young man of eighteen years of age, who had been studying medicine only a few months and hardly knew how to put up the simplest prescription, much less to prescribe in the absence of the surgeon, was appointed surgeon's mate.

With such mismanagement, what wonder that so many of our valuable citizens sunk under their complaints, and where is the wonder that they should have exclaimed, with tears in their eyes, "Had we but died on the field of battle, fighting for liberty and our country, we should have gloried in such a death; but to be brought here to die like sheep, it is insupportable!"

* * * * *

Dr James Ewell was born on the family estate at Belle Air, Prince William county, Va., February 16, 1773. His father, Col Jesse Ewell, was a classmate of Thomas Jefferson at William and Mary college, and colonel of a Virginia regiment of militia in the Revolutionary war. He had nineteen children, of whom eleven reached maturity, James being his third son.

Dr Ewell studied medicine with his uncle, Dr James Craik, in Alexandria, Va. (the family physician of George Washington), and subsequently with Dr Stevenson in Baltimore. He then concluded his medical studies by attending the lectures at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), under Dr Rush and Dr Benjamin S. Barton. He married, December 2, 1794, Margaret McIntosh Robertson, daughter of Dr Andrew Robertson, of Lancaster county, Va. He afterwards bought a farm near by, practicing his profession in the surrounding country. Subsequently he removed to Dumfries, and in 1801 he visited Washington, residing at the White House as a guest of President Jefferson, who advised him to settle at Savannah, giving him letters of introduction to his friends in that city. He remained at Savannah until 1809, when he settled in Washington, opening his office at the northeast corner of First and A streets southeast.

In 1807 he compiled the *Planters' and Mariners' Medical Companion*, dedicated to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, which was published at Philadelphia. Of this work ten editions were issued. The tenth edition, printed in 1848, contained his portrait. The seventh edition was published at Washington, copyrighted by his daughters, Cordelia B. Ewell and Olivia F. Ewell, as proprietors. In the third edition (Philadelphia, 1817) he inserted, under the heading of "Bilious Fevers," his celebrated article on the "Capture of Washington."

This work, entitled "The Medical Companion," after the first edition, received the highest commendations from the most distinguished medical authorities in the United States, such as Drs W. Shippen, B. S. Barton, J. Woodhouse, J. B. Davidge, J. Shaw, David Ramsay, C. Mackenzie, A. Barron, N. Chapman, C. Caldwell, etc. It was also warmly indorsed by the New York Medical Repository.

Thomas Jefferson, in accepting the dedication of the book, speaks of Dr Ewell's father as his bosom friend.

The biographer, Rev Mason L Weems, married his sister Caroline. Meeting with some financial reverses, Dr Ewell left Washington in 1830 and removed to New Orleans, where he practiced until his death, of cholera. He died in his sixtieth year, November 2, 1832, at Covington, Lake Pontchartrain.

Dr Ewell had four children. The two sons died in infancy, while one daughter became Mrs Olivia F. Martindale, of Sandy Hill, N. Y., and the other Mrs Cordelia B. Kingman, of Washington, D. C. His widow died August 26, 1842, at her daughter's (Mrs Martindale's) home.

According to Col James A. Tait, of this city, who was born here on the day the British entered the city, Dr Ewell was of medium height, somewhat corpulent, of distinguished appearance, had a florid complexion, with large, expressive blue eyes, walked very erect, and had a genial smile for every one. He was universally beloved, and his medical practice extended all over this District.

M. I. WELLER.

THE MILITARY AND PRIVATE SECRETARIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

BY MARY S. BEALL

Thereupon answered John Alden, but looked not up from his writing:
"Truly the breath of the Lord hath slackened the speed of the bullet;
He in his mercy preserved you to be our shield and our weapon!"

LONGFELLOW.

That Washington ever rehearsed his deeds of daring and hairbreadth escapes to his secretaries after the manner of the doughty Puritan captain would not find credence for a moment, but that his secretaries may often have echoed in thought the sentiments expressed by John Alden is pleasantly shown by scores of letters preserved in the "Washington Correspondence" at the Department of State.

Reared in habits of industry and accustomed to so systematize his work that every detail received its just share of consideration, and believing, to use his own words, that "idleness is disreputable under any circumstances, productive of no good, even when unaccompanied by vicious habits," a large proportion of Washington's military, official, and private correspondence is in his own careful penmanship. Throughout the busy and harassing period of the French and Indian war we find month after month and year after year size-rolls, necessary returns, plans and specifications of forts, arrangement of troops during certain long marches, and other military data all written out by himself, with never a blot and seldom an erasure and in a hand as easy to read as print.

In 1755, however, while for a time he commanded the colonial forces that were building forts, opening roads, and holding in check the French and Indians upon the western frontier of Virginia, he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Winchester, October 13:

"I have appointed Captain George Mercer (whose Seniority entitled him to it) my aid-de-camp; and Mr. Kirkpatrick, of Alexandria, my Secretary; a young man bred to Business, of good Character, well-recommended, and a person whose Abilities I had not the least doubt of."

Mr Kirkpatrick's appointment, however, may have been several months earlier, for on the 19th of August, 1755, he writes to Washington from Williamsburg, acknowledging the receipt of a letter by express and adding:

"By this Muddy Mortall I thought it incumbent to advise you, that I shall be detain'd a Couple of days longer in town, being obliged to leave a Copy of all Accounts as they now have been examined, & Stand stated in Your Book, so that the next Committee will have easy work with you."

A year later we find him writing to his chief from—

"FALMOUTH, 25 August, 1756.

* * * "On Friday evening had the pleasure of receiving yours, and agreeable to your desire copied the Governour's, Deliver'd it and woud have Shown it to the Speaker, had he not left Town that forenoon. * * * You woud learn by Capt. Cox that All your Accts. were pass'd & approved, & that transcribing the whole transactions woud detain me 2 or 3 days after him."

In 1757 he had left the army and resumed his business of shipping merchant in Alexandria, and on the 19th of June writes:

"ALEXANDRIA 19th June 1757.

"DEAR SIR, I share in the anxiety and concern that you must undoubtedly undergo in the present melancholy prospect and very warmly wish a happy issue. Should my service be requisite in any shape at this juncture, I shall be glad to know it and will immediately obey with the greatest chearfulness in whatever you are pleased to command."

Washington ordered many of the army supplies through him, and in a communication of the 21st of July following, concerning ammunition and artillery stores, after wishing Washington "Every Happiness this Life can afford, or the next can Bestow," he adds:

"P. S. I shall be glad allways to be employed in any thing You have occasion for, this way."

In October, 1757, he writes: "If at any time you desire my assistance, here or elsewhere, before you go down to Williamsbg. I am obedient to your command—and beg you woud use me, without ceremony, in any thing I can serve you."

The next year he determines to visit his native country, and writes to acquaint Washington with his contemplated trip and tell where to direct future letters:

"ALEXANDRIA 3d September 1758.

* * * "A letter will find its way to me—at Kirkcudbright—the County Town of Galloway in the South of Scotland—from whence Doctr. Craik and I derive the *honour* of our Births.—May Providence in a Peculiar manner protect You in every point of Your life and Crown Your Troubles with Content & Honour."

Washington replied promptly, for on the 14th of the same month John Kirkpatrick "snatches a moment before starting" to acknowledge a letter, say good-bye, and beg for a continuance of the correspondence:

"ALEXANDRIA, 14th September, 1758.

* * * "I am touch'd with sincere grief to leave You and a few Friends, whose Intimacy & Friendship have attach'd me with ties of the warmest Affection—and nothing woud make it tolerable without the hopes of Returning, and the pleasure of hearing of my Friends' happiness when Absent—persist then Dear Sir, in kind Offices of Communica-

tion, by all opportunitys—for nothing will afford me more real Delight—or confer greater Honour.”

No matter what the main object of his letters, he always found space to give all the news and often much of the gossip of the neighborhood. During the Revolution he was a patriot and always strongly attached to Washington.

After Washington's marriage, when the Custis children began to need the services of a tutor, we find the name of Walter Magowan, of Maryland occurring in his *Ledger* and *Diary*, and there is reason to believe that Magowan acted also in the capacity of secretary, but documentary evidence is not at hand to prove this surmise. However, it is matter of record that he did copying and was paid extra therefor. In Ledger A his account runs from October 9, 1762, to March, 1768, the date of its settlement. In Ledger C he appears as—

“The Rev'd Mr. Magowan, Dr.

“1773, Jan'y 6. To 12 Tickets in the Delaware Lottery, belonging to Lord Sterl'g
Numb'd from 5264 to 5275 In-
clus'e, @ 10 doll'rs ea. & dis-
pos'd of by you pr. Letter.... £36 0 0

“Cr.

“1775, Jan'y. By your order on Mr. Hectr. Ross
for 120 Dollars..... £36 0 0”

The Rev'd Mr Magowan apologizes in this letter for his delay in settling this account and signs himself “Sir, your obliged h'ble serv't.”

Though Washington's aids-de-camp in the discharge of their office attended to many clerical duties, this paper will treat only of those who appear squarely on the records under the title of *secretary*, and Joseph Reed has the honor of being the first “military secretary to the commander-in-chief,” the following item being included in Washington's general orders for the current date :

“HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, *July 4th, 1775.*

* * * * *

“Joseph Reed Esqr. is appointed Secretary to the General and he is in future to be consider'd and regarded as such.”

Joseph Reed, the son of Andrew Reed and Theodosia Bowes, was born at Trenton, New Jersey, on the 27th of August, 1741. His education, begun at the Philadelphia academy, was continued at Princeton college, where, in 1757, he took his bachelor's degree at the early age of 16, delivering an original Latin oration at the commencement exercises. After studying law and being admitted to practice, he went to England to complete his legal studies in the Middle Temple, London. His marriage with Esther De Berdt, only daughter of Dennis De Berdt, colonial agent for Massachusetts, allied him with some influential English families. Returning to this country in 1770, he settled in Philadelphia and began the practice of the law.

Already the colonies were beginning to chafe under the injustice and short-sighted policy of the mother country. Reed, taking an active part in politics, began, through his English connections, an earnest, fearless correspondence with Lord Dartmouth, the colonial secretary, giving the British ministry timely warning of what the end must be should the growing dissatisfaction in the American colonies lead to open revolt and an armed resistance. In 1774 he was elected member of the committee of correspondence, and president of the first Pennsylvania convention in January of 1775. In the following May, while a delegate to the First Continental Congress, began probably that acquaintance with Washington, then a delegate from Virginia, which led to Reed's being selected for secretary by the latter when he was made commander-in-chief. When a friend remonstrated with Reed on the step he had taken in accepting this position, he replied: “I have no inclination to be hanged for half treason. When a subject draws his sword

against his prince he must cut his way through if he means afterwards to sit down in safety. I have taken too active a part in what may be called the civil part of opposition to renounce without disgrace the public cause when it seems to lead to danger, and have a most sovereign contempt for the man who can plan measures he has not the spirit to execute."

The books and accounts opened by him in his capacity of secretary bear witness to his neatness and trained ability, while Washington's letters to him during his frequent enforced absence from camp show how great was the commander's reliance on the good judgment and scholarly acquirements of his chosen secretary. The first letter in point is written from the camp at Cambridge, under date of November 20, 1775, and is as follows :

"DEAR SIR: The hint contained in the last of your letters respecting your continuance in my family, in other words, your wish that I could dispense with it, gives me pain. You already, my dear Sir, knew my sentiments on this matter; you cannot but be sensible of your importance to me; at the same time I shall again repeat, what I have observed to you before, that I can never think of promoting my convenience at the expense of your interest and inclination. * * * My mind is now fully disclosed to you, with this assurance sincerely and affectionately accompanying it, that whilst you are disposed to continue with me, I shall think myself too fortunate and happy to wish for a change."

Again, on the 28th of the same month, he writes :

"DEAR SIR: I can truly assure you that I miss you exceedingly, and if an express declaration be wanting to hasten your return, I make it most heartily and with some pleasure. * * * What can your brethren of the law mean, by saying your perquisites, as Secretary, must be considerable? I am sure they have not amounted to one farthing."

The last extract on this subject is written under date of December 15:

"With respect to what you have said of yourself and situation, to what I have before said on this subject, I can only add, that whilst you leave the door open to my expectation of your return, I shall not think of supplying your place—if ultimately, you resolve against coming, I should be glad to know it, as soon as you have determined upon it."

The earliest letter that has been preserved of Reed to Washington is written from Philadelphia, whither he had been sent on business connected with the army. Washington already had recommended him for adjutant general in the Continental service, and this is the proposition to which he refers :

"PHILADELPHIA *March 3 1776.*

"MY DEAR GENERAL, I have not been favoured with any Thing from you since my two last but that never makes any Difference in my Writing as your Claims of Friendship & Gratitude upon me are superior to all other. * * * The Congress have acceded to the Proposition respecting myself so that unless some new Event unforeseen & very important should happen I shall be with you this Summer. I must beg your Indulgence till I can get my Family into some convenient Situation & settle my Affairs—In the mean Time I am forwarding your Camp Equipage which I have extended in many small particulars beyond your Order."

Four days later he writes :

"PHILAD. *March 7, 1776.*

"MY DEAR GENERAL,

* * * * *

"I have taken a House in the Country to which I propose soon to remove my Family & am preparing what is necessary for the Summer. * * * I expect your Tents to be finished this Week. * * *

"Adieu my dear General, should there be any Action or Enterprize God grant it may be a glorious one to you & a happy one for our Country."

On the 15th he writes to congratulate his "dear General" on a prosperous turn in events:

"PHILAD. *March 15, 1776.*

"MY DEAR GENERAL, This Morning your Express arrived with an Account of the interesting Events which have taken Place since this Month began. I beg Leave to congratulate you on Appearances so favourable to the Interests of our Country & your own Character. Not that in my Opinion it was the least clouded by your Inactivity as the Causes were well known, but it is certain that Enterprize & Success give a Brilliance & Lustre which cannot be unacceptable to a good Mind."

An interesting letter to John Hancock, President of Congress, marks the end of his secretaryship and bears witness to his strict sense of justice:

"The Hon'ble Congress having been pleased some Time ago to make an Addition to the Pay of the General's Secretary, upon an Expectation that I should continue in that Appointment, I think it my Duty to acquaint you, that agreeable thereto, I repaired to New York, where I found a Gentleman of Character & Abilities performing the Services of that Office with Satisfaction to the General.

"As my first acceptance of the Office was purely accidental, & occasioned by publick Motives, the Necessity of my Continuance seemed now to cease & induced me to request the General to excuse my farther Attendance, which he was so obliging as to comply with. This & Engagements both of a publick & Private Nature in this Province, & these only, were my Reasons for declining the Service, at the same Time I assured the General that if in the Course of Business my small Abilities could be of any Use, I would on the shortest Notice most chearfully devote myself to it again.

"Having been absent from the General for some Time I considered the Pay of the Office most properly due to those Gentlemen who did the Duty during that Absence. I accordingly with the General's Approbation divided it between them."

As adjutant general he met the messenger of Lord Howe when the latter sent a letter to *George Washington, Esqr.*, and refused to transmit it to the commander-in-chief, because it was not properly addressed.

Reed's active military career began with the series of engagements on Long Island, in August, 1776, while by his knowledge of the country around Trenton and Princeton. gained as a boy and during his college days, he aided materially in the success of the enterprise of that memorable Christmas night and the following January. As an acknowledgment of his services during this campaign, Congress raised him to the rank of brigadier general May 12, 1777. About the same time the executive council of Pennsylvania appointed him to fill the office of chief justice of that State. He declined both appointments, however, preferring to keep himself free to act as a volunteer whenever his services should be needed, and it was in this capacity he took part in the battles of Brandywine, Whitemarsh, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Man's necessity is often the devil's opportunity, and it was when Reed was disheartened by his ineffectual appeals to Congress in behalf of our half-clothed and half-starved soldiers, for whose sake he had well nigh impoverished himself, that one of the fiercest temptations of his life assailed him. Ten thousand pounds sterling and any office in the king's gift were offered him if he would renounce the American cause and use his influence to bring about a reconciliation between the two countries. Without a moment's hesitation Reed proudly answered, "I am not worth purchasing, but, such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me!"

In November of 1778 he was unanimously elected president of the State of Pennsylvania, signed the articles of confederation the same year, and in 1781 was active in suppressing the revolt of the Pennsylvania line. During his presidency he aided in founding the University of Pennsylvania and used his influence for the gradual abolition of slavery and the annulling of the proprietary powers vested in the Penn family. At the expiration of his term of office, in 1781, he resumed his practice, and died on the 8th of March, 1785. He was buried beside his wife in the old Presbyterian burying-ground at the corner of Fifth and Arch streets, Philadelphia.

Reed was succeeded on the 16th of May, 1776, by Robert Hanson Harrison, who served until the 25th of March, 1781. Harrison was born in Maryland in 1745, and was educated for the law. As Washington's secretary he ranked as lieutenant colonel. Lund Washington appears to have been the intermediary in this appointment, for it was through him that the proposition was made to Harrison, and it was Lund who informed the general of Harrison's gratified acceptance.

"MOUNT VERNON, *Octr. 5th, 1775.*

"DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

"I cannot with certainty inform you by this letter whether Mr. Harrison will accept the offer you make him or not; but I can hardly think he or any other American would refuse it." * * *

"MOUNT VERNON, *October 15th, 1775.*

"DEAR SIR: This letter I expect will be delivered to you by Mr. Harrison, who thankfully accepted your invitation."

In 1777 Harrison was appointed by Congress a member of the board of war, but declined, preferring to remain on the staff of the commander-in-chief. On the 10th of March, 1781, he was appointed chief justice of Maryland and quitted

the army on the 25th of the same month. Writing to Washington from Annapolis on the 21st of October following, he says:

“Be pleased to accept my sincere congratulations, My Dear Sir, upon the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.—They are the Offerings of a Heart very warmly attached to Your Excellency & most zealously so to the interest & happiness of the States. This Event, for the wisdom & vigor of the measures leading to it, it is the Voice of all here, is as honorable to You & the Allied Army as it is advancive of & interesting to the Common Cause.”

In 1789 he was appointed judge of the United States Supreme Court, but declined this appointment also. He died in Charles county, Maryland, on the 21st of April, 1790.

On the 21st of June, 1776, Alexander Contee Hanson was appointed assistant secretary and acted in that capacity for several months, until prevented by ill health from rendering further military service, though he continued to enjoy the friendship and confidence of Washington. Hanson was born on the 22d of October, 1749; was a delegate to the convention that ratified the Constitution, in 1788. He declined a United States judgeship, but was chancellor of Maryland from 1789 until his death, in Annapolis, in 1806. Under the title of the *Hanson pamphlets* the Maryland Historical Society has preserved some of his vigorous writings on the political topics of his day.

Next in order of appointment was Colonel Tench Tilghman, who is always known as Washington's *volunteer secretary*. He was born on Christmas day of 1744, at Fausley, his father's plantation, on Fausley creek, a branch of the Saint Michaels river, in Talbot county, Maryland. His father was James Tilghman, a lawyer by profession, who removed from Chestertown, Maryland, to Philadelphia in 1762 and held various posts of trust and honor under the colonial government of Pennsylvania. His mother was the daughter of Tench Francis, senior, an eminent lawyer and attorney-

general of the province of Pennsylvania. Tench Tilghman, one of a family of twelve children and eldest of six boys, after receiving a thorough education under the best masters, entered into business with his uncle, Teuch Francis, junior, in Philadelphia. So prosperous was this commercial enterprise that ere the first battle of the Revolution had been fought the partners had secured a modest competency, but the beginning of hostilities was the end of Tilghman's mercantile pursuits. He says:

"Upon the breaking out of the troubles, I came to a determination to share the fate of my country; and that I might not be merely a spectator, I made as hasty a close, as I possibly could, of my commercial affairs, making it a point to collect and deposit in safe hands, as much as would, when times and circumstances would permit, enable me to discharge my European debts, which indeed were all I had."

Fired by the news from Lexington and Concord, the young men of Philadelphia began to fit themselves for what each felt must come sooner or later. Military companies were formed, officers chosen. Of the former, the most conspicuous was *The Ladies' Light Infantry*, called in derision "The Silk Stocking Brigade," of which Tench Tilghman was lieutenant. When this company was reorganized, in 1776, to form part of the Pennsylvania quota, Tilghman was chosen captain, and it became part of the famous *Flying Camp*. During the summer and fall of 1775 he held the important positions of secretary, treasurer, and paymaster to the commission appointed by Congress to treat with the Six Nations. In August of 1776 he became a member of Washington's military family, and from that time until the surrender of Yorktown he was seldom absent from the camp of the commander-in-chief. He shared the fatigues and discouragements of that memorable retreat through the Jerseys; the daring and danger of that midnight crossing of the Delaware; the eclat of the victories at Trenton and Princeton; the sorrow of the defeat at Brandywine and the check at

Germantown; the discomforts, hardships, and privations of the winter quarters at Valley Forge; the masterly plans by which the forces were concentrated at Yorktown, and the glories of its final surrender, which virtually ended the war. To Colonel Tilghman Washington intrusted the pleasing duty of bearing his official communication to Congress of this proud event, making this flattering allusion to his messenger:

"Hon'e Thomas McKean, President of Congress:

"SIR, * * * Colo. Tilghman, one of my aides-de-camp, will have the honor to deliver these dispatches to your excellency. He will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my letter. His merits, which are too well known to need my observations at this time, have gained my particular attention, and I could wish that they may be honored by the notice of your excellency and Congress."

This kindly recommendation by the chief was honored by Congress, who ordered that "a horse with his caparisons and a sword be presented by the board of war to Lieut't Colo. Tilghman." He was the prototype of the modern "our special correspondent at the seat of war," sending by express to Congress, at the special request of certain members, a daily letter giving the latest news of our own and the enemy's movements. Concerning his rank of lieutenant colonel an extract from a letter of Washington's to Hon John Sullivan, delegate to Congress, urging that body to settle definitely the rank of certain officers in the Continental service, will be interesting as showing certain commendable traits in Tilghman's character. Washington writes:

"I also wish, though it is more a matter of private than public consideration, that the business could be taken up on account of Mr. Tilghman, whose appointment seems to depend on it; for if there are men in the army deserving

of the commission proposed for him, he is one of them. This gentleman came out a captain of one of the light infantry companies of Philadelphia, and served in the Flying Camp in 1776. In August of the same year he joined my family, and has been in every action in which the main army was concerned. He has been a zealous servant and slave to the public, and a faithful assistant to me for nearly five years, a great part of which time he refused to receive pay. Honor and gratitude interest me in his favor, and make me solicitous to obtain his commission. His modesty and love of concord placed the date of his expected commission at the first of April, 1777, because he would not take rank of Hamilton and Meade, who were declared aides in order (which he did not choose to be), before that period, although he had joined my family and done all the duties of one from the first of September preceding."

That Tilghman, like many others, suffered from the envy and jealousy of some with whom he came in contact, who tried, though ineffectually, to prejudice the chief against him, may be gathered from a letter written to his brother, who wished to gain permission to go abroad :

" HEAD QUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,

" 12th June, 1781.

" MY DEAR WILLIAM

* * * * *

" It gives me pain to tell you that I cannot, without subjecting myself to censure, interfere in the least, in procuring your recommendations to go to England by the way of France or Holland. I am placed in as delicate a situation as it is possible for a Man to be. I am, from my station, Master of the most valuable Secrets of the Cabinet and the Field, and it might give cause of umbrage and suspicion were I, at this critical Moment, to interest myself in procuring the passage of a Brother to England. Tho' I may know his intentions are perfectly innocent, others may not or will

not. You cannot conceive how many attempts have been made, some time ago, to alarm the General's suspicions, as to my being near his person—Thank God—He has been too generous to listen to them—and the many proofs I have given of my attachment have silenced every malignant whisper of the kind. As I never have given the least handle for censure, I am determined never to do it."

When Washington surrendered his commission as commander-in-chief, at Annapolis, on the 23d of December, 1783, Tilghman was beside him, and, following the example of his chief, resigned his commission and became once more a private citizen. Locating at Baltimore, he again engaged in mercantile pursuits, at first on his own account, but soon after in connection with Mr Robert Morris. In June of 1783 he had married his cousin, Anna Maria Tilghman, daughter of Matthew Tilghman, of Bay Side, Talbot county, Maryland. Two daughters were born to them, but the seeds of a fatal disease had been sown in the father's constitution during that terrible winter at Valley Forge, and on the 18th of April, 1786, in the forty-second year of his age, he passed away and was buried in the plot of ground, no longer used for the interment of the dead, on Lombard street between Green and Paca streets, Baltimore.

The second aid-de-camp to be appointed assistant secretary was James McHenry, of Pennsylvania. He entered the army as surgeon of the 5th Pennsylvania battalion on the 10th of August, 1776, but was taken prisoner at Fort Washington on the 16th of November following. He remained a prisoner of war on parole until exchanged on the 5th of March, 1778. Two months later, on the 15th of May, he was chosen assistant secretary by the commander-in-chief. That he longed for a more active participation in the war is shown by the following letter to his commander :

"HEAD QUARTERS, 18th *July*, 1780.

"SIR: I would beg leave to mention to your Excellency, a matter, in which I feel too much to be longer without

laying it before you. The approaching campaign opening an interesting field, makes me desirous to appear, in a more military character, than that I now hold. I have also had before me for some time past, a prospect of visiting Europe; and especially those places where our interest is most cherished. And as my present character of Secretary, is not in the same estimation, there, as with us, I would therefore request your Excellency that I may be considered as a volunteer. Hitherto, I have acted without pay, and it is my intention to receive none in future, unless some alteration in my circumstances renders it necessary. If I receive your permission, to serve as a volunteer, or accept such a station in the army as may place me wholly, in a military light, I shall be happy, because, in it, I combine, with what I owe myself, that duty proper to my country.

"I have the honor to be with the utmost respect, Your Excellency's

"Most obt. & hble servt.

"JAMES MCHENRY.

"His Excellency

General WASHINGTON."

On the 30th of October, 1780, he was transferred from Washington's to Lafayette's staff, serving as aid-de-camp, with the rank of lieutenant colonel, until the 22d of December, 1781. From 1783 to 1786 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and in 1787 was one of the framers of the United States Constitution. On the 27th of January, 1796, he was again associated with Washington, succeeding Timothy Pickering as Secretary of War and holding that office until the 13th of May, 1800. His death occurred on the 8th of May, 1816.

The last aid-de-camp to be appointed secretary was Jonathan Trumbull, junior, son of Connecticut's famous war governor, whose Christian name is said to have furnished the sobriquet for the United States (Brother Jonathan). Jonathan, junior, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut,

on the 26th of March, 1740. He was a graduate of Harvard and a prominent member of the state legislature for several sessions prior to and at the commencement of the Revolution. During the first three years of the war he was paymaster to the northern department of the army, and on the 8th of June, 1781, was appointed aid-de-camp and secretary to the commander-in-chief. When the position was tendered to him he wrote the following reply :

“LEBANON 27th April 1781.

“DEAR GENERAL Returng. Yesterday from a Journey Eastward as far as Boston on which I had been employed for a Fortnight, I found your Excellency's Letter of the 16th waiting for me, with a Proposal for my joining your Family in the Capacity of a Secretary. * * * The Idea is so new & unexpected—and my other Engagements (exclusive of my Family, private Business & domestic Concerns) are such as will render it very difficult for me to make a Compliance to your Excellency's Request—tho' at the same Time I have to confess that it will give me great Pain, if on full Consideration, I shall find myself obliged to make a Refusal; as my Inclination would lead me to fulfill your every Wish—& be assured Sir!—my Ambition would be highly gratified by so near an Admission to the Person & Confidence of General Washington. * * * On the whole I must beg your Excellency's Permission for a short Time to consult my own mind & those of my Friends on this subject—& in the meantime suffer me to suggest that your Excellency will be pleased to turn your Mind on some other Person who may eventually be called to this Service—some others I can readily conceive may be found who will perform it with greater Abilities but no one I dare say will accept whose chearfull Readiness & utmost Endeavours to fulfill your Excellency's Wishes will be greater (if Circumstances shall permit) than mine.”

On the 20th of July, 1783, he writes from Newburgh to Washington, who is absent for a time from headquarters,

giving him the news up to date, and adding the following postscript :

“ P. S. Mrs. Washington not writing, desires me to inform [you] that she is as well as when your Excellency left her.”

His office terminated with the disbanding of the army, 23d of December, 1783. Subsequently he was member of Congress from 1789 to 1795, Speaker of the House during the last four years of the time, United States Senator from 1795 to 1796, lieutenant governor of Connecticut from 1796 to 1798, governor from 1798 to 1809, and died on the 7th of August of that year.

Of these seven military secretaries of the revolutionary period, Richard Varick alone was not an aid-de-camp, but bore the distinctive title of *recording secretary*. He was born in Hackensack, New Jersey, on the 25th of March, 1753, and his family name was originally Van Varick. At the beginning of hostilities he was a practicing lawyer in New York city. Entering the army a captain in McDougall's regiment, he was soon after appointed military secretary to General Schuyler, then in command of the northern division. Later he was made deputy mustermaster general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and served in that capacity until after the surrender of Burgoyne, in October, 1777, when he was appointed inspector general at West Point and aid-de-camp to Benedict Arnold, whose soldierly qualities won his admiration and whose treason came near driving Varick insane. Summarily dismissed from the army by Congress because of his “unhappy connexion with the guilty Arnold,” he was afterward, through the interposition of friends, granted the benefit of a court of inquiry. Pending his trial he wrote to Washington from—

“ ROBINSON'S HOUSE, *October 24th, 1780.*

* * * * *

“As it may be of essential Importance to Me, to be furnished with the Testimony of one of the Gentlemen of Your

Excellency's Family, with respect to my Conduct, on and after the 25th September, & whether the Papers taken on André were in my Hand Writing; I have by this conveyance requested Colo. Hamilton to be so obliging as to send me his by the first Opportunity Least those from Meade & Harrison should not reach me in Season or not be broad enough, with respect to the Papers taken on André."

Exonerated from all complicity in Arnold's infamous scheme, he soon after received a wonderful proof of Washington's thorough belief in his innocence, the chief tendering him the position of recording secretary. His letter of acceptance bears date Albany, May 25, 1781, and is in part as follows:

"I do therefore take this Opportunity of accepting the singular Trust so politely proffered to me & shall deem myself happy if my Services & Attention on this Occasion may be such as to merit Approbation & prove the Propriety of Your Excellency's Choice. I shall set out for Camp in a very few Days, where I can be better informed how soon the Papers will be ready for Transcription & take Measures accordingly. * * * When I was at Poughkeepsie I mentioned the Matter to Governor Clinton & requested his Opinion as to the Practicability of getting proper Assistance at that Place, he informed me that he could recommend at least two Persons who are capable & to be confided in, I believe I shall be able to engage the others in this Place or its Vicinity; on the proper Characters I will advise with Gen'l Schuyler."

From a letter to Jonathan Trumbull, junior, we find that he began his work on the 7th of June, 1781. He adds:

"The Terms the Gen'l proposed were to be on an equal footing with Yourself with Respect to pay & subsistence Money. I wish this to [be] specified, as also that the Pay to Myself & Writers should be in Specie or its equivalent.

Let it be mentioned in particular about the Writers as His Excellency's promise, they now hold me in the Gap. * * * The Room in which the Office is kept ought to be paid for by the Public—my Lodging is an Affair of my own. * * * I wish farther to be empowered to give one of the Writers 60 Dollars pr. Mo. as they draw no Rations or any Thing else & I wish one, besides his Ordinary Duty at Office Hours, in the Absence of the Other to Assist me in Examining the Papers, this will justly deserve some Compensation."

By the 19th of July he was ready to report progress to Washington :

"POUGHKEEPSIE *July 19th 1781.*

"DEAR SIR I have the Honor of informing Your Excellency that I arrived at this Place on Saturday the 7th. * * * By numbering and digesting into Classes the Copies of Letters & Orders in 1775 & 1776 I found that some essential ones were wanting. * * * I therefore thought it expedient before I employed the Writers, to sort & digest the whole of the Original Letters & Copies for 1775, 1776, 1777 & 1778 & All the other Papers, to find them & such other Copies as thro' hurry were misfiled, that I might not be deemed guilty of Blunders which it was in my Power, by timely Precautions, to prevent. * * * The Variety of Movements & Hands which the Papers have gone thro', have caused many of them to be improperly packed together, so as to require the most exact & uninterrupted Attention as well as some Time, to indorse, arrange & digest them in proper Order.

"I flatter myself that this consideration alone, independent of the above Embarrassment, will exculpate me in Your Opinion of a seeming Delay in setting the Writers to Business.—I am, however, happy to inform Your Excellency that I now have the whole in such a State of Forwardness as to enable two Writers to commence in two Days & a third in five Days thereafter. * * * Least any Concern

may take Place with Respect to the Security of the public Papers, I think it proper to inform Your Excellency that I have taken Quarters at Doctor Peter Tappen's an honest Patriot & Bro. in Law to the Genl. where my Charge is perfectly secure & rendered (if possible) more so by its Propinquity to the Governor's Quarters, who is furnished with a Guard. But without this I should not apprehend the least Danger, as the Inhabitants are generally Whigs.

"I heartily wish You success in Your Military Operations & am with the most perfect Respect & Esteem Your Excellency's Most Obliged Obedt. Servt.

"RICHARD VARICK

"His Excellency Genl. WASHINGTON."

In February of 1782 he had a grievance to state :

"POUGHKEEPSIE *Febry. 7, 1782*

* * * * *

"Since my Letter of the 14th Mr. Hughes, one of the Writers who, tho capable, had been frequently too inattentive to the Manner of executing his Duty, took my frequent Reproofs & Directions in Dudgeon & quitted the Service, after having compleated two Volumes (from the 1st Jany. to the 10th Sepr. 1779.)—This was the ostensible business; but the real one was a Disappointment in his Wishes and Expectations to make a *Jobb* of the Business."

From his accounts we glean the names of six "writers"—Mr Zacchæus Sickels, Mr Oliver Glean, Mr Myer, Mr Dunscomb, Mr Hughes (the last three were discharged), and Mr George Taylor, Jr. His labors were ended on the 18th of August, 1783, when the books and papers of his excellency were packed up, ready to be returned, and Varick's appointment terminated on the 23d of December following. Subsequently he was recorder of the city of New York, speaker of the house of assembly, attorney general of the State, mayor of the city, and, with Samuel Jones, was appointed to revise the State laws. He was one of the founders of the

American Bible Society, and on the resignation of John Jay was elected its president. He is described as of imposing presence, being over six feet in height. He died in Jersey City on the 30th of July, 1831.

Passing from the stirring incidents of the camp and following Washington to his dearly loved Mount Vernon, we begin to gather from his diary and correspondence the names and characteristics of a succession of private secretaries. William Shaw, of Virginia, writing to Washington from Dumfries on the 4th of July, 1785, says he hopes his "Excellency will not think £50 sterling per ann. with Bed, Board, Washing, &ca. too great a Demand, as I Can assure you, I have refus'd much greater offers but Prefer Staying with you for a less Sum, as it will entitle me to be in Better Company, & a Genteeler line of Life." He signs himself "Believe me to be with respect Your Excellency's Mo. Obed't Servt.," and adds a postscript: "Please let the Ladies know that there are Black & White Sattin Shoes here, & if they Wish any to Send their Measure, & I shall do myself the Pleasure of getting them." On the 12th of the same month he writes to say that he is sorry the sum he mentioned is thought too much, but will come for whatever Washington thinks his services are worth. Looking through the General's diary, one feels that in his dealings with young Shaw he kept in view the old adage that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," for Mr Shaw goes to the races, rides after the hounds, and attends many an "assembly" and "dance" in Alexandria. Two entries in Washington's diary fix the date of his coming and going with accuracy:

"Tuesday 26th July 1785 * * * With Mrs. Washington, Miss Bassett and the two children I dined at Mr. Lund Washington's.—On my return, found Mr. Will Shaw (whom I had engaged to live with me as a Book keeper, Secretary, &ca.) here."

"August, Sunday 13, 1786 * * * Mr. Shaw quitted this family to day."

In 1786 Washington began corresponding with friends in reference to a suitable tutor for his adopted children—George Washington Parke and Miss Nellie Parke Custis—and through General Lincoln hears of Tobias Lear. A letter under date of February 6, 1786, from Washington to Lincoln defines the duties and privileges of the person wanted with accuracy:

“MOUNT VERNON, 6 February, 1786.

“MY DEAR SIR * * * Mr. Lear, or any other who may come into my family in the blended characters of preceptor to the children, and clerk or private secretary to me, will sit at my table, will live as I live, will mix with the company who resort to the house, and will be treated in every respect with civility and proper attention. He will have his washing done in the family, and may have his linen and stockings mended by the maids of it. The duties which will be required of him, are generally such as appertain to the offices above mentioned. The first will be very trifling, till the children are a little more advanced; and the other will be equally so, as my correspondences decline (which I am endeavouring to effect) and after my accounts and other old matters are brought up. To descend more minutely into his duties I am unable, because occasional matters may call for particular services; but nothing derogatory will be asked or expected. After this explanation of my wants, I request that Mr. Lear will mention the annual sum he will expect for these services, and I will give him a decided answer by the return of the stages, which now carry the mail and travel quickly. A good hand, as well as proper diction, would be a recommendation on account of fair entries, and for the benefit of the children who will have to copy after it.”

On the 7th of May following Lear writes to Washington that General Lincoln has let him see the letter in which Washington accedes to his request for \$200 per annum, and adds:

"If I find an opportunity of going by Water I shall embrace it immediately and be with your Excellency in about three weeks, but if an opportunity does not offer in a few days I shall set off by the stages, and very probably be at Mount Vernon soon after you receive this. I am with sentiments of the greatest Respect Your Excellency's most Obed't Hum'e Serv't."

Lear was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 19th, 1762; graduated from Harvard in 1783, and became Washington's private secretary in 1786. He married, for his second wife, the widow of one of Washington's favorite nephews; was generously remembered in the General's will, and has the distinction of having received his last words. The January [1895] number of the *Spirit of '76* states that "in 1798, when Washington accepted the command of the provisional army, Mr Lear was selected as the military secretary, with the rank of colonel," but official data are not at hand to verify this statement. In 1801 he was consul-general at Saint Domingo; from 1804 to 1812, consul-general at Algiers and a commissioner to conclude a peace with Tripoli. At his death, which occurred in the city of Washington, October 10, 1816, he was an accountant in the War Department.

David Humphreys, born in Derby, Connecticut, in 1752, was aid-de-camp to Washington from 1780 to the end of the war. His name appears in the journals of Congress as follows:

"*Resolved*, That an elegant sword be presented, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, to Colo. Humphreys, an aid-de-camp of General Washington, to whose care the standards, taken under the capitulation of York, were consigned, as a testimony of their opinion of his fidelity and ability and that the board of war take order therein."

He was an honored guest at Mount Vernon for nearly a

year after the return of its master. Upon the organization of the Federal Government he accompanied Washington to New York and acted as his secretary until 1790. Many letters on file in the Department of State bear his signature, in that capacity. In 1789, while on a mission south to treat with the southern Indians, he writes to the President as follows:

“ PETERSBURG *Oct'r 28th* 1789.

“ MY DEAR GENERAL * * * I have taken considerable pains to learn how the persons appointed to offices in the several States are considered by their fellow Citizens; & am happy to assure you that the appointments in general have met with almost universal approbation. The selection of Characters to fill the great Departments has afforded entire satisfaction; particularly in the Judiciary I heard it repeatedly said in Halifax, that the Supreme Court would be the first Court in the world in point of respectability. These things cannot but augur well. * * * I will not intrude any longer on your time, than to assure you, that I am with the most unalterable & perfect friendship my dear general &ca

“ D. HUMPHREYS.

“ To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.”

In 1790 he was appointed minister to Portugal, and at the moment of embarking wrote to Washington as follows:

“ NEW YORK *September 1st* 1790

“ MY DEAR GENERAL In taking leave of you, at the moment of your departure, while I strove in vain to check an impulse which I apprehended betrayed too much weakness, I found the burden on my heart choaked the passage of utterance. In that moment a multitude of ideas crowded into my mind. A long separation from one's friends & country under an idea of going into a nation where one is a total stranger, however flattering or useful the object may be which occasions it, is, in some respects, like a voluntary exile. * * * As I was unable to say what I wished to

have said, I thought I would take this occasion of writing a line to you, previous to my leaving the Continent, which might remain as a proof of my gratitude for all your kindness, and a pledge of my honest zeal to justify your indulgent sentiments in my behalf, by the execution of my duty in the best manner my abilities will allow. * * * I have kept this letter open untill the moment in which I should be called to embark. The tide & wind now suffer us to sail. No farther delay is permitted. The last act I shall do on shore, previous to my voyage, will be to assure you, that, of all the Admirers of your character or friends to your person, there is no one who feels a more disinterested & inviolable attachment, than, My dear general

“Your sincere friend & Most obliged Servant

“D. HUMPHREYS.”

His life was a busy one, filled with military, diplomatic, and literary pursuits. He died in New Haven, February 21, 1818.

William Jackson, born in Cumberland, England, March 9, 1759, but brought as an orphan, at an early age, to this country, was liberally educated in the colonies, and entered the army in 1775. He was in active service until 1780, when he was made prisoner at the capture of Charleston. He gained his title of major while an aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief. In April, 1787, he wrote to Washington, asking his influence to have him appointed secretary to the federal convention, and on the 17th of September following he wrote:

“Major Jackson, after burning all the loose scraps of paper which belong to the Convention, will this evening wait upon the General with the Journals and other papers which their vote directs to be delivered to His Excellency.”

From 1789 to 1793 he was private secretary to the President. In July of 1790, having heard that Mr Otis, secretary

to the Senate, would probably soon resign to take another office, he writes to Washington to bespeak his influence to have him appointed Otis' successor and gives the following reason :

"Several years are past since my affections were given to a Lady in Philadelphia whose name delicacy requires me to leave unconnected with a letter—they were returned and my happiness wanted only the aid of fortune to have been completed. To obtain the consent of friends, whose consent was essential to my happiness, some certainty of income was necessary : but alas, I have not possessed that certainty, and I have hitherto been unhappy. The present object with the assistance of what I might derive from another pursuit, in the recess of Congress, would confirm to me an expectation of happiness dearer to me than all other hopes."

A year later, hearing that the Postmaster General is about to resign, he writes again to Washington and wishes to submit himself as successor, but adds :

"Could I believe, Sir, that your approbation of my wish (should I be so happy as to obtain it) could be construed into an act of partiality towards a person of your family—interesting as the completion of this wish is to my happiness—I would not desire it—No, Sir, I would not consent that, in this only instance, you should be supposed to depart from that impartial justice, which characterises all your actions and has given unlimited confidence to your administration."

In 1795 he married Elizabeth Willing, of Philadelphia, the lady of his choice. The same year, while Washington was deprived of the services of Mr Dandridge because of his severe illness, Jackson wrote to the President :

"[PHILADELPHIA] PINE STREET No. 67—

"August 25, 1795.

* * * * *

"Presuming that in the absence of Mr Dandridge, and under the pressure of public business, you might possibly

have occasion for that kind of assistance which I should be capable of rendering—I beg leave to entreat, if such assistance can be useful, that you will command my best services while you continue on your present visit to Philadelphia.

“As I am waiting the issue of some arrangements before I enter upon my plans of private business, my time is, at present unoccupied.—And my heart, head and hands cannot be more gratefully employed than in a disinterested demonstration of the perfect esteem and affectionate attachment, with which I am, Sir, Your most obliged and faithful servant.”

In 1796 Jackson was appointed surveyor of the port of Philadelphia. He was secretary to the Society of the Cincinnati for twenty-eight years and delivered the funeral oration upon Washington in Philadelphia. He died in 1828, his wife surviving him for thirty years.

Bartholomew Dandridge, of Virginia, nephew to Mrs Washington, writes from Baltimore, July 14, 1792, to Colonel Vanhorne, “By order of the President of the United States, I beg to inform you,” &c, showing that he had been added to the list of secretaries. In May, 1796, after a severe spell of illness, he writes to the President from Greenbriar Court House:

“In case you do not wish to give me my place in your service, I may endeavour to obtain one somewhere or other. In the last event, I must beg of you to enclose me a certificate of the time I lived with you & of my conduct during that time. As I am sure you will do this with strict justice, it will be serviceable to me. You may obtain many who are in some respects more capable of doing your business, but I can truly say you will not find one who will be more faithful to your interest, according to my ability.”

He ends by suggesting that if the President does not need him as a secretary, he should be glad to be employed as an agent for disposing of Washington's lands on the Ohio.

In March of 1797 Washington wrote for Dandridge such a testimonial as he asked the year before. He speaks in high approbation of Dandridge's conduct during the six years he had been a member of his family, refers to the new career opening before the young man, and reminds him, "but I am sure you will never forget that, without virtue & without integrity, the finest talents & the most brilliant accomplishments can never gain the respect or conciliate the esteem of the truly valuable part of mankind."

George Washington Craik, of Virginia, son of Dr James Craik, whom Washington in his will calls "my compatriot in arms, my old and intimate friend," was one of several youths who, bearing the general's name, were in part educated at his expense. A letter is on file in the Department of State, bearing date November 9, 1796, written from Philadelphia, and signed by Craik as secretary to the President, showing that he had been selected to fill the position during Dandridge's illness.

As early as 1785 Washington wrote to Tench Tilghman concerning a Mr Rawlins:

"MOUNT VERNON 29th Aug't 1785.

"DEAR SIR * * * As I seem to be in the habit of giving you trouble, I beg the favor of you to cause the inclosed letter to be delivered to Mr Rawlins—I leave it open for your perusal—my reason for it is, that thereby seeing my wants, you would be so obliging as to give me your opinion of Mr Rawlins with respect to his abilities and diligence as a workman—whether he is reckoned moderate or high, in his charges—and whether there is much call, at this time, for a man of his profession at Baltimore—for on this, I presume, his high or moderate terms will greatly depend."

As Albin Rawlins did not apply for the position until 1798, the first may have been the elder brother to whom he refers in his application. On the 26th of January, 1798,

writing to Washington from Hanover Court House and offering himself as secretary, he states that General Spotswood had told his (Rawlins') brother that Washington was in need of such a person. He asks \$150 per annum, and adds that he can get a recommendation from any gentleman in Hanover or Caroline of his acquaintance, and signs himself, "I am honor'd Sir Y'r Ob't Serv't," but the *honor'd* is added with a caret and is evidently the result of an afterthought. There was some delay in his getting the position, and he seems to have been a young man of "affairs," for he always refers to important private business he should like the time to attend to. He was evidently proud of his penmanship, for he adds a postscript to his last letter, stating, "The letters you received from me were of my own writing." He sets the date of his advent at Mount Vernon as March 20, 1798.

Of the military and private secretaries given above, none but Lear seems to have used his office as a distinctive title, for during Washington's administrations he always signed his official letters, "Tobias Lear, Secretary to the President of the United States."—[*Columbia Historical Society, January 7, 1895.*]

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EIGHTY YEARS
OF THE
PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF WASHINGTON

1805 TO 1885

BY
J. ORMOND WILSON

WASHINGTON
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EIGHTY YEARS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF
WASHINGTON—1805 TO 1885

BY

J. ORMOND WILSON

[Read before the Society May 4, 1896]

The limits of a paper to be read before this Society will allow me to present to you only an outline sketch of the origin and development of the public school system of this city, including some important references and statements that may be of use to the future historian.

As a matter of convenience, I have to some extent used the term "Washington" as synonymous with "District of Columbia," and in doing so have only anticipated the near future when they will become identical.

Of the four independent systems of public schools originally established in the District of Columbia, that for the white schools of the city of Washington was the oldest and always the leading one; the others, starting later, copied it closely as circumstances permitted, and therefore had so many points of resemblance that for the purposes of this paper it has not been deemed necessary to trace each from its origin down to the time when all were merged in one common system.

The first eighty years of the public schools may be divided

into three distinctive periods, which I have designated "initial," "transitional," and "developmental."

Sources of Information

1. The original record of the proceedings of the board of trustees of public schools from 1805 to 1818, now in "The Force Collection," Library of Congress. Through the courtesy of Librarian Spofford, I had a copy of this record made and placed on file in the office of the superintendent of schools.

2. No official record of the proceedings of the board of trustees from 1819 to 1844 has been found. The files of *The National Intelligencer*, accessible in the Library of Congress, and the acts of the city council and of the Congress during that period are the chief sources of information.

3. The published annual reports of the board of trustees of public schools from 1845 to 1885. The series for each year is not complete. The reports from 1880 to 1884 were prepared with the usual care and labor, but the District authorities failed to provide for their publication. The "Twenty-second Annual Report" for the school year 1865-'66, prepared by Mr William J. Rhees, is of special historical interest, containing "A compendium of the laws and resolutions of the City Council of Washington relative to public schools, from 1804 to 1867, chronologically arranged," "List of trustees from 1845 to 1866," and much other interesting historical material. The report for 1874-'75 is also exceptionally valuable, since it was prepared with reference to the public school exhibit made at the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876, and contains brief histories of the public schools of the city of Washington, organized in 1805; of the city of Georgetown, organized in 1810; of the county (as part of the District of Columbia outside of Washington and Georgetown was designated), organized in 1864; and of the colored schools of Washington and Georgetown, organized in 1864—the four independent systems of schools as originally established in

the District of Columbia. These monographs were all written with intelligence and fidelity and as a labor of love, by persons well qualified for their respective tasks; the first two by Mr Samuel Yorke AtLee, the third by the Reverend Claudius B. Smith, and the fourth by the superintendent of colored schools, Mr George F. T. Cook.

4. "Special Report of the United States Commissioner of Education on the condition and improvement of public schools in the District of Columbia, 1868."

5. The minutes of the board of trustees which have been published in recent years, and may be found sometimes in connection with the annual reports and sometimes as separate documents.

6. The acts of the City Council, the District Legislative Assembly, and the Congress, as well as the orders of the District Commissioners relating to the schools.

7. The files of *The Evening Star* and other city newspapers published from time to time.

The Initial Period—1805 to 1845

Neither the framers of the Constitution nor the earlier Congresses contemplated the exercise of exclusive municipal legislation for the District of Columbia directly by the Congress, and hence, early as practicable after the removal of the seat of government here, the Congress ordained a municipal government for the city of Washington, and in 1804 by an amendment to its charter provided for "the establishment and superintendence of schools." On December 5 of the same year the City Council passed an act "to establish and endow a permanent institution for the education of youth in the city of Washington," which provided for a board of thirteen trustees, seven to be elected by the joint ballots of the two chambers of the council and six to be chosen by individuals contributing to the promotion of the schools, as provided for in said act. For the support of the schools the act appropriated so much of the net proceeds of the taxes on

slaves and dogs and of licenses for carriages and hacks, ordinaries and taverns retailing wines and spirituous liquors, billiard tables, theatrical and other amusements, hawkers and peddlers, as the trustees might decide to be necessary for the education of the poor of the city, not to exceed the sum of \$1,500 per annum. The act also provided for the appointment of a select committee of three councilmen, whose duty it should be to solicit or provide for soliciting, both at home and abroad, contributions in money or lots for the benefit of the schools. One of the largest contributions was that of \$200 made by Thomas Jefferson.

It may be stated at the outset that the colored children of the District of Columbia were not included among the beneficiaries of the public schools in any legislation either by the Congress or the City Council prior to the abolition of slavery in 1862.

The first board of trustees consisted of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Monroe, Gabriel Duvall, Thomas Tingley, Joseph Brombey, John Tayloe, Robert Brent, William Brent, Samuel H. Smith, William Cranch, George Blagden, John Dempsie, and Nicholas King.

They met in the Supreme Court room, United States Capitol, August 5, 1805, and were called to order by Robert Brent. Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, was elected president of the board, and accepted the office in a letter dated Monticello, August 14, 1805, but was prevented from ever discharging its duties by "others of paramount obligation."

At a little later date the Reverend William Matthews, better known as "Father Matthews," became a member of the board, and was most zealous and active in the cause of public schools for many years.

A notably comprehensive report, setting forth in detail the plan of the entire educational system from an academy to a university, was prepared by a select committee and adopted September 19, 1805. Mr Jefferson's early and liberal contribution in money and his accepting and holding the offices

of trustee and president of the board of trustees of public schools so long as he resided here show his personal interest in their establishment, and the fact that he had several years earlier proposed a quite similar plan of education for the state of Virginia and a few years later, in 1817, vigorously renewed his proposal, make a strong probability that he himself was the chief author of the first plan of public education adopted for the city of Washington.

In their plan the board of trustees said :

The academy shall consist of as many schools as circumstances may require, to be limited at present to two, one of which shall be situated east of the Capitol and within half a mile of it and the other within half a mile of the President's house, it being understood that these positions are considered by the board as temporary, and consequently subject at any future time to alteration.

In these schools poor children shall be taught reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, and such branches of the mathematics as may qualify them for the professions they are intended to follow, and they shall receive such other instruction as is given to pay pupils, as the board may from time to time direct, and pay pupils shall, besides, be instructed in geography and in the Latin language. The schools shall be open each day, Sundays excepted, eight hours in summer and six hours in winter, to be distributed throughout the day as shall be fixed by the board, except during vacation, which shall not commence prior to the first of August, nor continue after the 10th of September, and whose duration shall be fixed by the board.

A circular letter issued with the view of obtaining contributions for the erection of the college said :

He who, with the promise of success, aspires to that eminence which shall qualify him for rendering service to his fellow-men must in his early years receive an education exempt from local prejudice and narrow views, and without derogating from the respect deservedly cherished for State institutions, it may be confidently affirmed that no place in the Union is so well fitted for this purpose as the city of Washington. The reluctance naturally felt by a parent to send a son from his own to a remote State, whose institutions, manners, and habits perhaps widely differ, will in a great

degree, if not altogether, be inapplicable to a seminary not established in subservience to State views, and the professors in which will, as it is probable, be drawn from various States of the Union.

There is another consideration which cannot fail to entitle such an institution to the decided preference of a large portion of citizens. The parent who sends his son to Washington will find for him, in his Representative to Congress, a guardian and a friend who, during a large part of the year, will be his associate, will observe his progress in his studies, superintend his morals, and perceive the real condition and character of the seminary, and thus be able, from time to time, to satisfy parental inquiry and solicitude.

In this old record we catch a most refreshing glimpse of the typical Congressman at the dawn of this century.

There were two prominent features of this school system as originally devised for the city of Washington :

First. It was from some points of view very ambitious. There was to be a so-called academy, under which term was included what are now generally designated primary, grammar, and high schools, or elementary and secondary schools; a college and a university, each with functions similar to those of like institutions at the present day; and a public city library. Only the most elementary part of the academy was established at first. The college and the university have come into existence with but little governmental aid, and the public library is still on the list of things prayed for. The children of the poor alone were to receive tuition free of expense even in the lowest grade of schools, and their period of attendance at times was limited to a term of two years. The price of tuition to other pupils was fixed at \$5 a quarter.

Second. The founders of this school system appear to have thought it neither right nor expedient directly to tax the general property of the municipality for the education of even poor children, and they made their scant appropriations for this object out of the revenues derived from taxes on specialties and licenses, most of which were in the nature of a specific tariff on social evils. They probably considered

themselves warranted at least in applying the homœopathic principle of *similia similibus curantur*, curing a social evil with a social evil.

Between 1812 and 1828 fourteen joint resolutions authorizing and regulating lotteries for the benefit of the public schools were passed by the Congress. A portion of the revenues derived from this source was invested in corporation or other safe stocks and designated the "school fund." The interest on these stocks was for many years applied to the support of the schools.

This school fund, created for the most elementary education of "pauper pupils," existed intact when in 1874 a government of the District by the Congress superseded all local autonomy, and when in 1878 that body began to make specific appropriations for the schools without reference to the school fund. In 1880 it amounted to about \$80,000. The Congress at that time was averse to making any direct appropriation for a much-needed high-school building, but when attention was called to the existence of such a fund it was induced to authorize its application to this object by an act approved March 3, 1881, and so the first high-school building came into being. The public school forefathers would probably be somewhat surprised if they should return to the city and behold their long-cherished fund for the education of "pauper children" transmuted into the concrete form of the imposing edifice now known as the Central High School building, located on O street between Sixth and Seventh streets northwest.

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will.

The board adopted an elaborate code of rules for the government of the academy, among which was the following:

"Every scholar on entering the school shall take off his hat and bow to the preceptor."

Girls do not appear to have been in the minds of these rule-makers, and, in fact, the education of girls, especially of the humbler classes, then was considered of small account.

A Western school and an Eastern school were established, and the first teacher to commence work, January, 1806, was Richard White, principal teacher of the Western school, whose salary was to be \$500 per annum. It will be noticed that at even that early day the West End was taking the lead. Poor Richard White! prototype of many a successor! We find him October 1, 1807, tendering his resignation, accompanied by a prayer in vain for pecuniary assistance to enable him to remove himself and family from Washington.

On October 27, 1806, the board authorized the erection of the first two school-houses, to be located on lots owned by the United States, the use of which for this purpose had been granted by President Jefferson. These school-houses might have been modeled after Noah's ark, for we are told that they were built of wood, 1 story high, 50 feet long, 20 feet wide, and cost together \$1,589.41.

The Western school-house appears to have been located on lot 27, square 127, now occupied by the sumptuous residence of Mr Anthony Pollok, number 1700 I street northwest. This lot, containing about 2,600 square feet, was purchased by the corporation from the United States Government (Sam Lane, Commissioner of Public Buildings) in 1821 for \$100. The money was applied to the building of an iron fence to inclose the park around the Capitol. The corporation (John P. Van Ness, mayor) sold it with the improvements, in 1832, for \$309.

In 1811 Mr Robert Ould was sent out from England by Mr Lancaster to take charge of a Lancasterian school established in Georgetown. He was the father of Robert Ould, Esquire, who, graduating from Columbian College, became a prominent lawyer, United States attorney for the District of Columbia under President Buchanan, then, going South at the beginning of the civil war, the Confederate Assistant Secretary of War and agent for the exchange of prisoners. The fame of this school reached the ears of the Washington school authorities, who in 1812 established a similar school in this city, and on recommendation of Mr Lancaster brought

over from England Mr Henry Ould, a brother of the Georgetown teacher, and placed him in charge of the Washington school.

In 1813 Mr Henry Ould made the first report of a Washington public school of which we have any record. It reads as follows:

February 10, 1813.

This day 12 months ago I had the pleasure of opening under your auspices the second genuine Lancasterian school in America. The system was set in operation (as far as the nature of the room would admit) in this city on the 10th of February, 1812, in an inconvenient house opposite the General Post Office, but notwithstanding the smallness of the school-room there were 120 scholars entered on the list during the first three months. I was then under the necessity of delaying the admission of scholars, as the room would not accommodate more than 80 to 100 scholars. It now becomes my duty to lay before you an account of the improvement of the scholars placed under my direction in your institution, which I shall do in the following order:

OF NUMBERS

130 scholars have been admitted into your institution since the 10th of February, 1812, viz., 82 males and 48 females, out of which number 2 have died and 37 left the school for various employments, after passing through several grades of the school, which therefore leaves 91 on the list.

PROGRESS IN READING AND SPELLING

55 have learned to read in the Old and New Testaments, and are all able to spell words of three, four, and five syllables; 26 are now learning to read Dr Watts' Hymns and spell words of two syllables; 10 are learning words of four and five letters. Of 59 out of the whole number admitted that did not know a single letter, 20 can now read the Bible and spell words of three, four, and five syllables; 29 read Dr Watts' Hymns and spell words of two syllables, and 10, words of four and five letters.

PROGRESS IN WRITING

55 scholars are able to write on paper and many of this number can write a good German text hand who never

attempted a single letter of the kind before they came to your institution ; 26 are writing words of two and three syllables on slates ; 10, words from two to five letters on slates. All those scholars that have left the school could write a tolerable and many a capital hand when they left the institution.

PROGRESS IN ARITHMETIC

26 scholars are in reduction, single and double rule of three direct, and practice ; 23 are rapidly progressing through the first four rules of arithmetic, both simple and compound.

This pioneer public school report was a concise and business-like statement of the work of the school, unincumbered by any modern psychological discussions. The law of apperception had not been discovered, the idea of culture epochs had not come, and the principles of correlation, coördination, concentration, and interest were away in the dim future.

In 1815, on the recommendation of the trustees, the city council established two boards in place of the one previously existing—one for the first school district, comprising the first and second wards of the city, and the other for the second school district, comprising the third and fourth wards. This movement was apparently a step backward.

On July 30, 1821, the Lancasterian school took possession of the small brick building on the southeast corner of Fourteenth and G streets northwest, formerly occupied as a stable for President Jefferson's horses, the use of which had been granted to the public schools. On that spot now stands the attractive floral establishment of John H. Small & Sons.

The formal taking possession was a noted event. "At 10 o'clock a procession of girls and boys, between 130 and 140 in number, preceded by their teachers and followed by the trustees, moved from the old and incommodious building on F street to that prepared for them opposite to the Foundry chapel. An address was delivered by the president of the board, who congratulated the assembly on the improvements in the system of learning, and on the immense benefits prom-

ised, 'particularly to the poorer classes of society.' He hoped that this institution, supported as it was by the corporation and by the General Government, which had generously allowed the use of the building, would be the means of rescuing their fellow-creatures 'from the doom of ignorance and obscurity.'"

Mr Joseph Lancaster, the founder of the system of schools bearing his name, was an enthusiastic but somewhat visionary schoolmaster, who adopted an inexpensive method of educating, especially the masses of poor children. The curriculum of his schools included reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Bible. In his original school in London he enrolled 1,000 pupils to be taught by himself, assisted by designated pupils called monitors, the more competent assisting in managing and instructing the less competent. He had inscribed over his school-house door:

"All that will, may send their children, and have them educated freely; and those that do not wish to have education for nothing, may pay for it if they please."

One of his mottoes was: "Let every child have, at all times, something to do, and a motive for doing it."

The motives which he incited were not altogether the highest, but more readily accessible in large numbers of his pupils, who, under the circumstances, could not be moved by an appeal to more transcendental ones. He relied chiefly on a lavish system of rewards. He said: "It is no unusual thing for me to deliver one or two hundred prizes at the same time, and at such times the countenances of the whole school exhibit a most pleasing scene of delight, as the boys who obtain prizes commonly walk round the room in procession, holding the prizes in their hands, and preceded by a herald proclaiming the fact before them." His punishments were "devices for bringing the public opinion of the orderly portion of the school to bear upon the offender by means of ridicule."

He came to the United States in 1818, and visited other countries. His system had great popularity in its day, was

adopted in most of the civilized countries of the world, and did much good. Some features of it apparently found their way at an early date into the public schools of this city, notably the making use of selected pupils to assist in teaching, who were designated in the Washington schools "subassistants," instead of "monitors," and the elaborate system of prizes, which were continued for many years, but were gradually eliminated as the condition of the schools improved so that they could be dropped without detriment.

In 1836 Mr Joshua L. Henshaw was appointed teacher of the Western school, and at the end of his first year, in concluding his annual report, he "expresses his opinion of the character and value of the system on which the school is conducted and his pleasure in doing so, as the result of his experience has been to satisfy his mind that it was admirably adapted for effecting the purposes intended, and he commends an economy that, at a yearly cost of \$875, confers the benefit of education in a single year on 303 children."

Mrs Emma D. E. N. Southworth, an American novelist, who still survives and is a resident of this city, was the step-daughter of Mr Henshaw, and was for some years also a teacher in the public schools of Washington.

The two original schools, supplemented for several years by the Lancasterian school and for a short period by two subsidized Presbyterian schools, ran an intermittent course, without any considerable growth or improvement. The public school system was handicapped at the start by class distinctions introduced in the provision for poor and pay pupils, by being established in slave territory; and by a lack of funds. Slavery and free schools cannot flourish side by side, and for forty years the system struggled against a hostile environment without substantial progress. The epithets in such phrases as "charity schools," "poor children," and "pauper pupils" are found freely scattered through the early records. At last the school system became so odious that it was of little value to any class of children, and a more en-

lightened and liberal public sentiment successfully protested against its longer continuance on its original basis.

Transitional Period—1845 to 1860

At the beginning of this period three men appeared on the stage who had advanced ideas concerning a public-school system—Mayor Seaton, the junior editor of *The National Intelligencer*; Councilman James F. Halliday, afterward city collector of taxes, and School Trustee George J. Abbot, afterward confidential secretary to Daniel Webster and United States consul at Sheffield, England.

As early as 1840, Mayor Seaton in his annual message had called attention to the census of that year, which showed that the whole number of children in the city between the ages of 4 and 16, inclusive, was..... 5,390
 Number in the public schools..... 213
 Number in private schools..... 776

Whole number in school..... 989
 Number not attending any school..... 4,401

He recommended the adoption of the New England plan, involving taxation of assessable property and universal eligibility, applicable, of course, only to white children.

Councilman Halliday heartily supported Mayor Seaton's more liberal policy, and by 1845, under his leadership, four school districts had been established; one board of trustees, consisting of three members from each district, had been substituted for the two boards previously existing, and the fee for tuition of pay scholars had been reduced to the small sum of 50 cents a month. This tuition fee was shortly afterward abolished entirely and much larger appropriations were made, enabling the board to establish several additional schools.

The members of the new board of trustees were: First district, Robert Farnham, George J. Abbot, and John F. Hartley; second district, Peter Force, Thomas Donoho, and John C. McKelden; third district, Noble Young, William M. Ellis,

and Joseph P. Ingle; fourth district, Thomas Blagden, Ignatius Mudd, and Aaron Miller.

This board framed a code of rules so excellent that many of them, with little or no material change, have been in force ever since and are to be found in the code of today.

Trustee Abbot, a graduate of Harvard College, thoroughly familiar with the New England public school system and afterward the principal of a private school of high repute in this city, was the intelligent, active, and persistent leader in the school board. Among the advocates of the reform who rendered substantial service by voice and pen were the Honorable John Quincy Adams, Mr Justice Woodbury, the Honorable Caleb Cushing, the Honorable Charles Hudson, the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, and other prominent citizens and residents.

There was some doubt as to the authority in the municipal charter to appropriate the revenue derived from taxes on assessable property for the support of public schools, but a tax of one dollar on every free white male citizen was levied for this purpose. During the first forty years the appropriations for the schools had shown an annual average of only \$1,511.92, while the annual average for the first four years succeeding the reorganization was \$5,345.90.

The board of trustees divided the schools into two grades, designated primary and district.

In 1845 the principal teachers in charge of the four district male schools were: First district, Mr Joshua L. Henshaw; second district, Dr Tobias Watkins; third district, Mr Hugh McCormick; fourth district, Mr Henry Hardy. The first special teacher of vocal music, Professor J. H. Hewitt, was appointed the same year.

Mr John E. Thompson succeeded Mr Hardy as principal teacher of the fourth district male school in 1848, and there are hundreds of his pupils now living who hold his name in grateful remembrance and will testify to his zealous and thorough instruction.

Mr Samuel Kelly, who was appointed to succeed Mr Hen-

shaw as the principal teacher of the first district male school in 1849, then occupying the Jefferson stable building, used to wind up his school and set it agoing like a clock, and then go out to call on his friends in the neighborhood and invite them to visit the school in his absence and see if it was not running all right. They would accept his invitation, go to the school, find every scholar sitting bolt upright at his desk with his eyes set on his book, and report to Master Kelly accordingly; and woe to the boys had it been otherwise.

Mr Strong John Thomson, who commenced his service as a teacher in the public schools in 1852 and was promoted to be Mr Kelly's successor in 1854, is now actively and efficiently performing his duties as the principal of the Abbot school, the senior of the corps, and without a rival in the number of Washington boys who have acquired under his tuition a sound and thorough education in the elementary studies.

Professor Joseph H. Daniel was appointed teacher of vocal music in 1856, and I am happy to say has most acceptably filled that office down to the present time. The number of school children in this city whom he has gently and skillfully taught to sing during his long career would well nigh equal its present population.

In 1858 the charter of the city was amended so as to authorize the levying of a tax on all assessable property for the support of public schools, and it provided that the revenue derived therefrom should be expended for no other purpose.

In the same year an act was passed by the city council which redefined the school districts, provided for the appointment of a board of trustees by the mayor, prescribed and enlarged their powers and duties, and generally outlined a more comprehensive and liberal school system. This organic act placed the schools under the independent administration of the board of trustees within prescribed limits, and under this law, as their legal charter, they developed the system into its present form and as a body intelligently, faithfully, and zealously performed their official duties down to 1885, when, contrary to all American precedents and unfortunately

for the schools, the District Commissioners arrogated to themselves all the powers and duties pertaining to the management of the schools and reduced the legal functions of a school trustee to those of a subordinate whose sole business it is to execute the orders of his superior.

The fifth section of this organic act contained the proper and safe provision that no text-book should be changed unless by vote of two-thirds of the whole board of trustees, and it is still in force, although of late apparently ignored and possibly forgotten.

Notwithstanding the commendable progress I have indicated, there was ample room for greater improvement. An address published by the board of trustees in 1858 said "there is not at present, either rented from individuals or owned by the city, a single school-room entirely suited for school purposes."

During the years 1855-'60 the leading private and public school teachers and other citizens interested in education organized "The Columbian Teachers' Association," of which some of the leading members were Secretary Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution; President Binney, of Columbian College; Principals Zalmon Richards, of Union Academy, Otis C. Wight, of Rittenhouse Academy, and Charles B. Young, of Emerson Institute; John E. Thompson and Strong John Thomson of the public schools; and Dr S. L. Loomis. They met regularly, discussed practical educational questions, brought here prominent educators from abroad to deliver public lectures, and did much to improve the schools of the city, private and public, and to inform and interest the public mind on educational subjects. Under their auspices a school census of the city was taken and published December 10, 1857, which gave the following results:

Whole number of children in the city between the	
ages of 5 and 18.....	10,697
Number in public schools.....	2,400 = 22.4 percent
Number in private schools.....	3,228 = 30.1 percent
Number not in any school.....	5,069 = 47.5 percent

Gradually an inexpensive two-room building had been erected in each of the four school districts by the corporation ; additional rooms, notably in basements of churches, had been rented, the walls and ceilings of which were punctiliously whitewashed just before the annual examination of the schools ; somewhat improved school furniture, appliances, and text-books had been introduced ; night schools had been organized, and flourished for a time ; and at the end of the school year, in the later part of July, long processions of all the school children in each district, marshaled by their respective teachers and trustees, with the flag of their country and school banners emblazoned with appropriate devices and legends, were seen marching along the streets and avenues on their way to the Capitol grounds, and at a later date to the hall of the Smithsonian Institution, there to receive, in the presence of a large concourse of gratified relatives and friends, at the hand of his honor the Mayor, the prizes—honorable mention, certificates, diplomas, books, silver and gold medals—awarded for merit in attendance, punctuality, and scholarship. President Fillmore conferred these honors at the Capitol grounds in 1850.

During the later part of this period and the first part of the following one each school (that is, the teacher and pupils in a single room, usually isolated) has its distinctive banner, legend, colors, character, reputation, and pride, which it was bound to defend and maintain against all rivals with a spirit worthy of a highland clan of Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century. This stage of the school system had its peculiar merits and attractions, and produced scholarship of the very highest order of excellence in certain lines, varying in different schools. The best teachers of that day who continued their work later sometimes looked back and sighed for a return of the golden age, but the rapid increase in the number of schools made its continuance an impossibility, had it been desirable. It became necessary to subordinate something of individual freedom to the general good.

The following statement shows the growth of the school system during the transitional period :

	1845.	1860.
Whole number of teachers.....	4	54
Whole number of pupils.....	500	4,500
Value of school property.....	\$1,500	\$30,000

The cloud of negro slavery still overshadowed the schools, and this small and poor municipality, with very little assistance from the National Government, struggling to make the city a fit home for the nation's capital, found itself without the means to establish and support a public school system adequate to supply even the still quite limited demands of public sentiment.

The Developmental Period—1860 to 1885

Of the third period I can speak more from personal knowledge and may be allowed to say *pars fui*, having been first appointed a member of the board of trustees in 1861 and the superintendent of public schools in 1870.

Early in this period the board of trustees was constituted as follows: Mayor Richard Wallach, president *ex officio*; first district, J. Ormond Wilson, Richard T. Morsell, Robert Ricketts; second district, William J. Rhees, Mitchell H. Miller, Charles H. Utermehle; third district, Otis C. Wight, Dr Francis S. Walsh, Frederick D. Stuart; fourth district, James E. Holmead, Jonas B. Ellis, John T. Cassell.

This board took as its motto: "Schools for all; good enough for the richest, cheap enough for the poorest."

Mayor Wallach was a most loyal and active supporter of the Union cause, and in his heart and administrative policy the advancement of the public schools of the capital city was second only to the preservation of the union of the States. He regularly occupied the chair as the presiding officer at the meetings of the board of trustees, was ever ready to give timely encouragement and counsel, and to second the most advanced propositions, although often not knowing how he

was to get the necessary funds to carry out the measures brought forward.

An application to the National Government for aid in establishing a public school system for the city of Washington was made as early as 1805, when the city authorities petitioned for a grant of some of the lots received by the Government from the original proprietors on the laying out of the city. In 1856, under the lead of Senator Brown, of Mississippi, a bill passed the Senate to appropriate from the Treasury of the United States, for the support of public schools in this city for a term of years, a sum of money equal to that raised by the corporation for the same purpose. In 1858 another similar bill passed the Senate. In 1874 a vigorous effort again was made to obtain aid for the schools from the National Government. It was based largely upon carefully prepared statistics showing (1) what the National Government had done in the states and territories from time to time in aid of education; (2) the large number of the "wards of the nation" to be educated, who had been thrown into this city by the exigencies of the civil war; (3) that about one-third of the regular attendance in the white schools was made up of children of non-taxpaying parents, who were engaged in Government service and held their citizenship elsewhere; (4) and that the National Government was the owner of one-half of all the property in the District of Columbia. This appeal was unanimously and strongly endorsed by the department of superintendence of the National Educational Association, then holding its annual session in this city. None of these efforts availed to secure the passage of a bill for the benefit of the schools through both Houses of Congress. Donations of city lots were made to Georgetown and Columbian colleges, but the only assistance ever received from the Congress by the public schools was the permission to occupy temporarily three or four vacant public lots or parts of public reservations, the gift in fee of the old Jefferson stable, the use of the old Union and Anacostia engine-houses and the site of the Force school so long as they shall be oc-

cupied for school purposes, the gift of an old frame building (a relic of the war) located on leased ground at the corner of Twenty-second and I streets northwest, and on one or two occasions the advance of a sum from the United States Treasury to pay salaries of teachers in arrears, with a proviso for its repayment—a beggarly list of old clothes and small loans for short periods,—until we come down to 1878, when the Congress assumed the payment of one-half of all the expenses of the District of Columbia, including those of the public schools. The District was then so heavily involved in debt that the public schools did not receive the full benefit of this national aid until after the close of the period of which I am writing.

By an act of the Congress approved April 16, 1862, slavery in the District of Columbia was abolished, and by a proclamation of President Lincoln, dated January 1, 1863, slavery throughout the rest of the United States received its death blow. The greatest obstacle to a proper development of the public school system was at last removed, leaving only the financial inability of the municipality to delay its progress, but this was greatly increased by the additional burdens imposed by the civil war.

In 1860 a tax of ten cents on every \$100 of assessable property was levied specially for the support of schools, and in 1862 an additional tax of five cents on every \$100 of assessable property was levied specially for the purchase of sites and the erection of school-houses. The grading and designation of the schools was changed from primary and district to primary, secondary, intermediate, and grammar, a nomenclature better suited to the improved classification of pupils already effected. Each of these terms included a two years' course of study.

The trustees had at last discovered the reason for the school-boy's general want of respect for his desk and school-room—the desk and room were not respectable; and so they began to expel the desk and room instead of the boy. This change of policy proved very satisfactory. In the primary schools

the little, loose, noisy, four-legged chair, without desk, and in the higher grades the old soft-pine, double desk of rudest make and finish, usually with a board seat supported on the back of the rear desk, carved with a jack-knife after the most fantastic designs and decorated freehand with ink, were replaced by the Boston cherry single desk mounted on iron standards of graceful pattern, and a comfortable chair supported by a single iron pedestal—all the product of the most skilled workmanship in wood and iron. The available portions of the walls of the school-room were converted into blackboards, and more abundant globes, maps, charts, reference books, and other useful appliances followed in the train.

The number of schools had been increased, the pupils had been better classified, better furniture and more appliances had been furnished, and the text-books, courses of study, and methods of teaching were in the line of progress; but the school houses and rooms, largely rented to the corporation because their owners could find no other tenants, were totally unfit habitations for the schools. They were isolated, not in convenient locations, not of proper size or shape, generally without play-grounds, without cloak-rooms, and the lighting, heating, ventilating, and all other sanitary arrangements were of the most primitive and defective character.

The board of trustees resolved to first provide a school-house in a central position in each of the four school districts large enough to hold all the schools of higher grade, and then to distribute around it at convenient points smaller school-houses enough to accommodate all the primary scholars. As the citizens of eastern Washington then, as now, were noted for an intelligent recognition of their interests and a vigorous assertion of their rights, it was believed that the surest and shortest route to the accomplishment of the whole plan must have its starting point in that section of the city, and although all sections were so needy that comparisons would have been odious, it was decided to locate the first school-house of the series in the third district.

By an act of the City Council, passed at the instance of the

board of trustees and approved October 18, 1862, the mayor, as chairman, two aldermen, two councilmen, and four school trustees were created a joint committee, with full authority to purchase a site and erect thereon a school building, and the same act appropriated the school-house fund, amounting to about \$15,000 a year, to that purpose.

The respective boards appointed their representatives authorized by the act, and the joint committee was constituted as follows:

Mayor Richard Wallach, chairman *ex officio*; Aldermen A. C. Richards and George H. Plant; Councilmen Charles H. Utermehle and William M. Ellis; School Trustees J. Ormond Wilson, Mitchell H. Miller, Dr Francis S. Walsh, and Jonas B. Ellis.

This method of purchasing sites, providing plans, and building school-houses, through the agency of a joint committee appointed specially for the purpose, was pursued for several years, and under it the Wallach, Franklin, Jefferson, Seaton, and other school-houses were erected.

A subcommittee was designated to select a site, and after a protracted and thorough canvass they recommended a portion of square 901, fronting on Pennsylvania avenue between Seventh and Eighth streets southeast, belonging to Georgetown college. As the result of an interview with the college authorities they reported to Mayor Wallach that the price of the whole square was \$7,000, and that the corporation could buy such portion of it as might be wanted for a school-house at the same rate. He very promptly responded, "We will take the whole square," and ordered the purchase to be concluded without delay. Thus a large square, containing 107,834 square feet of ground, on which are now located the Wallach, the Towers, and the Eastern High School, with ample play-grounds, was bought for \$7,000, being at the rate of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents a square foot.

The wisdom and foresight of Mayor Wallach in taking the whole square is now readily apparent; but at that time the committee had altogether only about \$15,000 at its disposal

and some of the members were unable to see how a modern school-house, architecturally attractive, containing ten school-rooms, each with seats for from fifty to sixty pupils, and a large hall, in which all the pupils could be assembled for general purposes, could be paid for out of the balance of \$8,000 left after paying for the site.

The architects of the city were invited to submit plans for the building, and those prepared by Mr Adolph Cluss, who had made an extensive study of the best school architecture in both this country and Europe, were accepted. Mr Cluss subsequently prepared the plans and superintended the construction of the Franklin, Sumner, Seaton, Curtis, and Cranch school buildings. In hygienic, pedagogic, and architectural arrangements the Wallach was in advance of its time and the promise of better things to come. In April, 1866, a commission of the Boston school board and city council, with Superintendent Philbrick, visited the principal cities of the country to inspect schools and school-houses, and on their return home reported that the "Wallach school was in external architecture the most attractive school visited, while the Franklin school (not then finished), in its size, plans, etc, promises to be unsurpassed in the country."

The Wallach school building, in the presence of a large assemblage of interested citizens, was dedicated on the Fourth of July, 1864, with formal ceremonies, the most notable part of which was the scholarly, eloquent, and inspiring address of the Honorable James W. Patterson, then a Representative in Congress from New Hampshire.

In their annual report at the close of this school year the trustees said:

It may be of interest to those who are to come after us to find it here recorded that in this city, burdened with extraordinary expenses, distracted by the convulsions of a civil war, thronged with passing troops, in close proximity to great armies, at times within the sound of hostile cannon, and almost in a state of siege, the public schools in the midst of all these adverse circumstances have not only steadily con-

tinued to dispense their benefits to the community, but have so advanced in usefulness as to mark the three years just ended as the beginning of a new and proud era in their history.

The term "school" had heretofore been applied to the pupils in a single room in charge of one teacher, and some schools deservedly had acquired a wide local reputation for their excellence. Notable among the girls' schools were the Fourth District grammar school, taught for many years by Mrs Margaret Milburn Amidon, whose name after her death was most appropriately given to one of the school buildings; and the First District grammar school, taught by Miss Annie E. Evans.

The best schools here and there were most useful object-lessons, and were held up as standards to be reached by all. Occasionally a bright, accomplished teacher, who had received a professional education at some one of the best normal schools of the country, was appointed to a position in this city and brought new and better methods, which were gradually absorbed by other teachers, and so came into general use. In the absence of a normal school and supervision other than that of the trustees, no one means was found so effective in improving the schools as that of having in operation, for observation and study, schools of high standard producing actual results. Such schools could be visited by other teachers, their results could not be gainsaid, and their methods in producing them could be studied; while pedagogical theories, however ably presented in books or lectures, left room for doubts, discussions, and delays.

The advent of the Wallach school ushered in a new era not only in school architecture, but also in school discipline and the coördination of the work of teachers in different grades. For the first time ten schools of several grades were brought together in one building, the teachers of which were in daily intercourse and became better acquainted with each other's work. Mr William W. McCathran, a highly accomplished teacher and most estimable gentleman, was appointed the first principal of the school, and worked out the new and

vexatious problem assigned to him with admirable tact and patience. This change broadened the horizon of the corps of teachers effected by the new organization; their professional outlook in their isolated situation theretofore had been limited to the narrow section of the course of study assigned to the grade in which they taught.

The other central District school buildings included in the plan stated above were the Franklin, in the first district, finished in 1869; the Seaton, in the second district, in 1871, and the Jefferson, in the fourth district, in 1872.

It was Mayor Wallach's great ambition to signalize his administration by giving to the capital city the best public school-house in America.

In getting possession of the most central and eligible site for the Franklin school, many obstacles were encountered. The property belonged to minor heirs, whose guardian must give consent, an order from the court must be obtained, the sale must be made by auction, and the strenuous opposition of influential neighbors must be outflanked; but nevertheless the ground, containing 14,945½ square feet, was purchased by the corporation at the rate of \$1.26 a square foot, and cost \$20,474.01.

The contracts for the building were given out by piecemeal and with numerous delays, so that four years following the close of the civil war were consumed in its erection, and the currency had become so depreciated that in 1864 \$1 in gold sold for \$2.85 in currency, and the expense of building under the circumstances was more than twice as great as it would be today. The cost of the building was \$187,229.71.

It, however, richly repaid its cost in lifting the public school system to its proper place in the estimation of the public. The pernicious idea of charity schools for poor children, on which the system was founded and which had hitherto clung to it with seemingly insuperable tenacity, disappeared at once and forever. Applications for admission to the Franklin school, including those from the wealthiest and most aristocratic classes, from the day of opening were re-

ceived far beyond its capacity. Distance of residence was considered no obstacle to attendance, and the schools themselves so fortunate as to be located there were impelled to make an advance that they might maintain the reputation that the building had suddenly given them.

The Franklin school, in its elevated and prominent location, grand proportions, and architectural characteristics, became at once one of the sights of the capital city. General Francis A. Walker said that whenever he passed that noble American public school-house he turned to look and felt like lifting his hat in token of respect; and even today, more than a quarter of a century after its dedication, the intelligent guide in making the rounds of the capital city to show to tourists its chief attractions, as he drives along Franklin park halts and points with pride to the Franklin school.

The dedication of those earlier school-houses with formal ceremonies attracted wide attention. They were noted events in the history of the schools and contributed to their progress. The houses were crowded with interested citizens who came to hear addresses by eminent men; at the Seaton General Francis A. Walker and General William T. Sherman, and at the Jefferson Governor Cooke, Professor Joseph Henry, Professor Tyndall, the English scientist, the Honorable John Eaton, United States Commissioner of Education, and others. In time the advent of a new school-house became so frequent and common an occurrence that formal dedications were abandoned.

In 1865 occurred a memorable incident in the history of the schools. The veteran armies of the Union, returning to their homes in the North, were to march past the Capitol on their route up Pennsylvania avenue to be reviewed from a stand in front of the Executive Mansion by the President of the United States, their Commander-in-chief, the Secretary of War, the generals who had led them to victory, and other distinguished citizens. Every available spot along the entire route, from which a glimpse of a procession the like of which

in interest and grandeur never had been witnessed before and may never be again in our country, was crowded with a most eager, grateful, and enthusiastic throng of citizens and visitors come from far and wide.

The public schools of the city were to participate in the ovation, and promptly at the hour named thousands of school children were in the place assigned to them on the northern portico of the Capitol and all down the grassy slope of the park in front, extending to the line of march.

In the early morning of that bright and lovely twenty-third day of May there they stood, all expectancy, in spring attire, decorated with rosettes of "the red, white, and blue," laden with bouquets of fragrant flowers and floral wreaths, waving thousands of miniature flags, and bearing aloft a multitude of banners of their respective schools, while high over all was displayed the great standard of that young army inscribed, "The Public Schools of Washington Welcome the Heroes of the Republic. Honor to the Brave."

As the famous General Custer approached, the boys stepped forward and presented to him a large wreath of the choicest flowers, which he most gallantly and gracefully received and threw over his shoulder, when instantly his fiery charger, apparently frightened, stretched forward his neck and, seeming to take the bit of the bridle in his teeth, furiously dashed down the hill and round into the avenue out of sight, carrying his rider sitting firmly in the saddle, but bent forward, with his long and profuse Saxon locks streaming back in the wind, while the school children looked on in amazement and deep concern. Their anxiety was soon relieved, however, by the welcome news that the horse did not get away from his rider; and then came the pleasant surmise that the "runaway" was only a ruse to compliment the school children with a little exhibition of his horsemanship.

For six hours during the march, without sign of weariness, the boys and girls presented their floral offerings, waved their flags, rent the air with cheers, and at intervals a grand chorus of 2,500 voices, under the lead of Director Daniel, sang

"The Star Spangled Banner," "Battle Cry of Freedom," "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," "Victory at Last," and other patriotic songs and hymns, all of which were most gratefully received and heartily acknowledged by officers and soldiers. From all sides the highest praises were showered upon that great chorus of school children, and the sight of those grand armies, with their bronzed faces, soiled uniforms, and tattered flags, was to them an object-lesson in patriotism never to be forgotten.

In this connection, I am reminded that during the period of which I am writing the singing of the school children was so highly appreciated by the public that concerts, with programs made up for the most part of selections from their course of study in music, so as not to interfere with their regular school work, were given always to crowded houses. The proceeds of these concerts in the days of limited school appropriations were indispensable in supplying many things not otherwise provided for. All the pianos and other musical instruments, most of the important reference books, all the expenses incident to the various school exhibits made from time to time at home and abroad, and other things greatly needed were paid for in this way. A safe estimate of the total amount received from concerts and applied to the purposes mentioned would be at least \$50,000.

In 1871, when the American and British Joint High Commission to arbitrate the Alabama claims and other questions in dispute between the two countries met in this city, Sir Stafford Henry Northcote took up his residence near by the Franklin school, which he passed daily, and as he was about to leave the city in June, he addressed a note to the superintendent, saying he had so highly enjoyed the singing of the children in that school, as their sweet, young voices had reached him through the open windows, that he desired to visit the school, hear them sing again before his departure, and personally thank them for the greatest pleasure he had experienced during his stay in Washington, and accordingly he spent a morning in visiting those schools.

As the main source of supply of teachers was the young graduates of the public schools, without any special training or even a high-school education, the most difficult problem of all to be solved was how to provide a corps of teachers not only competent to do the work as it then was done, but also to keep step with the progress marked out for the future.

As I have said, the only supervision provided up to this time was that of the board of trustees, and although in its membership there were always to be found men of liberal education and usually some with more or less experience in teaching, yet as their services to the schools were gratuitous, they could not afford to allow them to interfere seriously with their regular business.

Various means were employed to supply, so far as practicable then, the inadequacy of professional supervision and leadership. An institute embracing the whole corps of teachers was organized in 1863 under the conduct of Mr Zalmon Richards, which held its meetings every Saturday for several months of the year and was well attended. Classes of school pupils were frequently present, the program included both the theory and practice of teaching, and all the branches of study taught in the schools received attention. Lectures or talks were given by the conductor, trustees, and eminent educators, such as Professor Joseph Henry; Henry Barnard, the editor of the *American Journal of Education* and afterward United States Commissioner of Education; Mr B. G. Northrop, agent of the Massachusetts State Board of Education; and the Honorable George S. Boutwell, then a member of Congress, but previously the secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education.

Great educators and teachers, who represented the soundest educational psychology and pedagogy, were brought here time and again for service in the line of teaching to which they had specially devoted their lives. In mathematics, Professor Davies, of the Military Academy at West Point; in reading, Professor Mark Bailey, of Yale College; in vocal music, Professor L. W. Mason, a supervisor of vocal music in

the Boston public schools and the author of a series of music charts and text-books still more widely used than any other in the public schools of this country; in geography, Professor Apgar, of the State Normal School of New Jersey; in penmanship, Professor Spencer, well known in connection with the excellent system of penmanship bearing his name; in drawing, Professor Walter Smith, of whom I shall have more to say. All these men were not merely great teachers of their specialties, but more—great educators in a broader sense; and they gave an impulse to the schools that had not expended its force at the close of the period of which I write. Their lessons were practical, accompanied by illustrations, and full of instruction and encouragement. They not only taught the teachers specifically how to do their work more intelligently and thus save time for new work, how to do new work, and, what is better, inspired them with the zeal and self-confidence essential to success, but they also enriched them with a knowledge and understanding of those fundamental principles of all pedagogy, which would enable them to devise good methods of their own. These men rendered most valuable services in giving a solid character to the system as it was developed.

“As is the teacher so is the school” is an old and true adage, and the schools will advance only as does the corps of teachers. At first the course of study in the elementary schools included but little more than reading, writing, and arithmetic, and as each new study knocked at the door for admission an early objection to be met was the fact that the teachers were not qualified to give instruction in the proposed new subject; and many times, as notably in the case of vocal music and drawing, it was quite confidently believed, even by the teachers themselves, that some subjects never could be taught by other than special teachers. That meant an additional expense, which was often an insuperable obstacle. In developing a public school system, therefore, the most important work of all is that of inspiring the teachers with a love of their work and an earnest desire to improve

and multiply their qualifications, and then furnishing them with the best facilities for so doing.

In 1869 the City Council provided for a superintendent of public schools, and thus supplied a most important factor in the further development of the system. Soon after the passage of the act Mr Zalmon Richards, heretofore spoken of, was appointed the first superintendent.

An office of this kind is never a sinecure. Its occupant does not embark for a pleasure voyage on a summer sea. Many times he must be chart, compass, captain, pilot, and man of all work, and will find himself in stormy weather sailing between Scylla and Charybdis. He must not go too fast or too slow, too far to the right or too far to the left, lest he may fail to gain and hold the confidence and loyalty of the corps of teachers whom he is to lead, or the general approbation and support of the school board and the public, all of which are essential to his highest success.

The highest prize awarded in the public schools is a scholarship in Columbian College. It was first given in 1855 by the Medical Department of that institution, largely through the instrumentality of its dean, Dr Thomas Miller. This was followed by an interval of three years, when Mr George Riggs gave a scholarship in 1859, and Dr William Gunton gave one in 1860. The college itself then gave one annually for eight successive years.

The authorities of the college not feeling able to continue their annual gifts longer, in 1869 President George W. Samson and the writer called upon the Honorable Amos Kendall, then residing at what is now No. 708 Eleventh street northwest, and at a ripe old age, in person administering upon that portion of his estate intended for benevolences; we represented to him the good which had already been done by these scholarships, both to their recipients and to the schools in general, and the desirability of a foundation that would make them regular and perpetual.

As a result of this interview, shortly after he tendered

to the board of trustees of Columbian College \$6,000, the amount that had been suggested to him as sufficient to found a perpetual annual scholarship, upon condition that "The trustees of the public schools in the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, and their successors, by whatever names they may be called, shall have the perpetual privilege of selecting from said schools one pupil annually to fill said scholarship, and the pupils so selected shall each be entitled to instruction in said college for the term of six years, free of charge for tuition, use of library, and apparatus, and for any other privileges allowed to paying students of the same grade." The gift was accepted by both the college and the school authorities, and it was declared that thereafter the first prize in the public schools annually should be the "Kendall Scholarship."

The award of this scholarship in Columbian College has been an event of public interest and notice annually since that date, and this beneficent gift to the schools has an unlimited future of usefulness, which each year will recall with honor the name of its donor.

A glance at this scholarship roll, already quite long, sustains its claim to the highest honor conferred by the public schools. One finds there such names as Faby Franklin, 1864, now a distinguished mathematician and professor in Johns Hopkins University; Theodore W. Noyes, 1870, now assistant editor of *The Evening Star* of this city; Howard L. Hodgkins, 1878, now a professor in Columbian University, and many others widely and favorably known in their respective callings.

In 1870 Mr Matthew G. Emery was elected mayor of the city, and among his appointments was that of the writer to the office of superintendent of schools. Although Mayor Emery's administration was abruptly cut short at the end of the first year of his term of office by a change of the form of government of the District of Columbia, he made manifest his deep interest in the public schools by giving to them the Seaton and commencing the Jefferson and Cranch buildings.

By an act of Congress approved February 21, 1871, a territorial government for the District of Columbia was established, to supersede the several local municipal governments theretofore existing and to go into effect on the first day of the following June. It provided for a governor and a Legislative Assembly composed of an upper and a lower house.

The colored schools of Washington, as originally established by the Congress, in their management were entirely independent of the local municipal governments, and no change was made in this respect by the act creating the new form of government.

The Legislative Assembly of the new District government by acts approved August 21 and 23, 1871, created the offices of superintendent of the Georgetown schools and superintendent of the county schools.

The governor reappointed the superintendent of the Washington schools and extended his jurisdiction to the Georgetown schools. He appointed Mr Benjamin P. Davis superintendent of the county schools, who revised the course of study, improved the methods of examining and certifying teachers, was instrumental in securing three larger and more commodious new school-houses, and generally discharged the duties of his office with intelligence and efficiency, but he retired at the end of a year, and the superintendence of these schools was then assigned to the superintendent of the Washington and Georgetown schools, and thus were the first steps taken toward a consolidation of the four school systems.

The Legislative Assembly also increased the tax levied for the support of schools, at one time in Washington to 60 cents on each \$100 of the assessment, in Georgetown to 40 cents, and in the county to 50 cents.

The first governor of the District of Columbia, the Honorable Henry D. Cooke, had a high appreciation of the importance of education and an earnest desire to further the progress of the public schools, whose general interests were committed to his executive care; but the condition of the District treasury, as usual, prevented the full realization of

the most liberal intentions. He, however, erected the Curtis school building in Georgetown under circumstances that would have been a bar to any attempt on the part of most men. He commenced without any funds whatever in his treasury available for building school-houses and borrowed the money from the trustees of two hitherto unapplied funds, which had been given to Georgetown some years before—one by Mr Edward Magruder Linthicum, who had left a legacy of \$50,000 to found a school for "indigent white boys and youths," and the other by Mr George Peabody, who had given \$15,000 to found a public library. Agreements were made under which these funds were borrowed for the purpose of erecting a large central school-house for Georgetown, in which two suitable rooms were to be provided and set apart for the use of the trustees of said funds—one for a library to which the public schools were to have free access, the room to be fitted up, the books furnished, and the library managed by the Peabody trustees, and the other for a night school of a practical and industrial character, the room to be fitted up with laboratories, apparatus, and other appliances, and the school to be managed by the Linthicum trustees. Both of these institutions were to work in direct lines of projected improvements in the public schools, and so these funds became of twofold use in their time. The Curtis building was erected, and the two institutions occupied the rooms assigned to them and did a most important educational work that otherwise would have been postponed for several years. Eventually these loans were repaid, and the Linthicum trustees withdrew from the Curtis building and provided elsewhere a flourishing independent establishment for their institution; but the Peabody library still continues its connection with the public schools, and is now especially valuable to the Western High School.

By an act of Congress approved March 3, 1873, the governmental control of the colored schools of Washington and Georgetown was transferred from the United States Department of the Interior to the government of the District of

Columbia, and it was made the duty of the governor to appoint a board of trustees, a secretary, a treasurer, and a superintendent for the practical management of these schools. They had been provided with a superintendent from the start, and Governor Cooke, in the performance of the duties imposed upon him by the act referred to, reappointed the incumbent of the office, Mr George F. T. Cook. Thus another step was taken in the direction of consolidation.

By an act of the Legislative Assembly approved June 23, 1873, the board of trustees of public schools of the city of Washington was authorized to establish a normal school for the professional training of teachers.

A school of this kind would not only gradually supply the elementary schools with teachers specially educated and trained in both the theory and practice of their profession, but its work could always be made a practical illustration of the most advanced and best educational thought. The school would send its graduates into the corps of teachers, and be visited, observed, and consulted with profit by other teachers, especially those employed in the lower grades. A good city normal school is a central fountain in which all that is best in education may find place and be made to flow out to every part of the system, and for this reason it was given precedence of a high school.

A large majority of the teachers in the public schools were necessarily women, and hitherto the chief source of supply had been the bright young graduates from the grammar schools, without any special professional training or experience. The qualifications that ought to have been possessed before assuming the duties of a teacher had to be acquired afterward, if at all, and at the expense of the pupils committed to her charge, during a longer or shorter period, according to the natural aptness of the young grammar-school graduate. Sometimes for sweet charity's sake there was a long probationary period—one, two, or more years,—ending at last in failure.

And yet it required careful and protracted effort to get

legislative authority for a normal school. The bill was drawn so as to appear to conservative legislators as harmless as possible. It provided only for "the special education of advanced pupils who were to become teachers in the public schools of this city." It was to be located in the Franklin School building, so that no expense for renting or erecting a building on its own account should be incurred. It authorized the appointment of only one teacher, the principal, at a very fair salary, \$1,500 per annum, with a proviso that "no further expense should be incurred by this act than is now required for teachers in the public schools for the year ending June 30, 1874," which, being interpreted, meant that the first class of pupils in the normal school during the one year in which they were to get their professional training must do enough teaching in the other schools to pay the expenses of their professional course. On this limited legal basis was the normal school commenced and built up, and on the same basis it rests today.

The school was very fortunate in its first principal, Miss Lucilla E. Smith, who, with superior natural aptitude for her profession, was a graduate of one of the best normal schools of the country, subsequently a member of its faculty, and then a most successful teacher in several grades of city schools. Under her charge it soon won appreciation and favor, and its graduates well sustained all that had been claimed for the school. Great public interest was manifested in its annual commencements and the large auditoriums used for those occasions were always crowded to overflowing, and often hundreds could not gain admission. At the commencement in 1875 Professor Henry delivered a short address full of the soundest educational philosophy, in which he said :

Another principle of human nature, very important in the art of the teacher, is that the several faculties of the human mind are not simultaneously developed, and the true system of education is that which meets these faculties in the order of their development. The earliest developed faculties are those of imitation ; and in regard to education we may divide them into two classes—the doing faculties and the thinking

faculties. By the doing faculties, I mean those mechanical habits which are essential to the acquisition of knowledge, and are pure arts, such as the art of reading, that of performing arithmetical operations with rapidity and correctness, that of expressing thoughts in legible characters, and in words of grammatical arrangement. These arts can only be acquired by laborious drilling on the part of the teacher and labor on the part of the pupil. They require little instruction, but repetition until they are performed with ease and almost pleasure. To neglect to impart these habits is to do a great injury to the child; nothing should be substituted for them, though instruction in other branches which require more art and less thought may be mingled as recreations with them."

The paramount importance of a thorough knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic and of laborious drill and repetition in teaching them to young pupils in common schools is forcibly stated in the part of his address quoted. No amount of *ologies* and *osophies* can compensate for the want of thoroughness here any more than additional branches can compensate for unsoundness in the trunk of a tree.

The graduating class of 1881 received their diplomas from President Garfield just a few days before his assassination, and the class of 1883 received theirs from President Arthur, who said that he himself commenced work in life as the teacher of a little country common school in Vermont on a salary of \$14 per month and "board around."

Industrial and manual training was included in the general plan for developing and improving the system of public schools, and this year, 1873, a beginning was made. As a knowledge of drawing underlies all other industrial and technical education and all manual training, it must be made the basis of the industrial education projected for the schools.

The first step taken was the appointment of Mrs Susan E. Fuller as director of drawing, who was specially qualified for such a position and has successfully filled the office since that date. The next step was to adopt a system of industrial drawing that would lead to practical results. A worthless

so-called system of drawing had been introduced in 1868, but the only parties who had received any benefit from it were the author and publisher of the books used by the pupils.

It so happened that in 1870 the city of Boston and the State of Massachusetts had become so impressed with the necessity of improving the designs and workmanship of their manufactures that in order to hold their own against foreign competition they had brought over from England Professor Walter Smith, an art master, trained in the famous South Kensington Art School, and for some time himself the head of a leading art school in England, to inaugurate a comprehensive system of teaching industrial drawing in the public schools of that city and State. His system was constructed upon the theory that all intelligent school teachers could qualify themselves for teaching drawing as well as any other branch of the curriculum, and in order to introduce this subject into the public schools it was only necessary to employ a general director competent to lay out a course of study suited to the circumstances, to instruct the regular teachers so far as might be needed, and to supervise their work in the schools. He soon designed a series of text-books and manuals embodying his system, and they were at once adopted for use in the public schools of this city.

Professor Walter Smith was one of the few men whose rare genius creates new epochs in their sphere of activity. The great forward movement in industrial and technical art education in this country during the past quarter century received its right direction and greatest impulse from him, and the beneficent results of his labors are now to be seen throughout the length and breadth of the land. He assisted by his counsel in introducing into the schools of Washington the system that has produced the most satisfactory results here, and twice visited the city personally for this purpose. His numerous lectures here and elsewhere were masterpieces in their line. No teacher has ever appeared in this country to whom a more honest and larger debt of gratitude is due, and yet his fate, like many another, was a sad one. He be-

came a naturalized citizen and hoped to end his days in his adopted country, but at the end of twelve years incompatibility of temper and mercantile greed stopped his great work here and, in bitter disappointment and poverty, sent him back to England where he was most heartily welcomed and immediately placed at the head of a prominent art school. Shortly after, when not yet past the meridian of a most useful and promising life, he died of a broken heart. On his tomb might well be inscribed, as a legend, the lines which Virgil posted over the palace gate of Augustus:

Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves;
Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves;
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes;
Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves.

Very few, if any, of the teachers were then qualified to give the required instructions in drawing. They, however, undertook the task of preparing themselves for their new duty with the most commendable good will and earnestness. A regular course of study for teachers, extending through several years, was mapped out by Mrs Fuller, and the whole corps of teachers cheerfully became students under her instruction every Saturday morning during a considerable portion of each year. As they progressed examinations were held and graduated certificates were given until they were all duly qualified for their new work. Meanwhile the normal school included this subject in its curriculum and sent forth all its graduates admirably equipped to teach drawing.

It required some time to bring public opinion to a correct appreciation of the nature and value of the new study—to make it understood that its main object was *not* to make *artists*, but *artisans*. For this purpose an annual exhibition of drawing was held to which the public were invited, and as a part of the exercises addresses were delivered by men familiar with the general educational value of the new study as well as its practical relation to all industries. At the annual exhibition in 1877, Professor Henry made one of his felicitous

and philosophical addresses. He was at the time physically so weak with his last illness as to require assistance in ascending the stairs to the hall of the Franklin building, and this effort was the last attestation of his deep interest in the public schools.

On these occasions only the actual results of the training received in the schools were allowed to be put on exhibition. The more artistic and to many eyes attractive work of extraordinary genius, and of those who had been trained by specialists outside of the schools, though offered in abundance at first, was rejected as not fairly representing the teaching of the schools.

Other work of the schools was also represented at these annual exhibitions—penmanship, map drawing and molding, compositions, examination papers, and a variety of subjects, including manual training in its beginnings. No money had yet been appropriated specifically for instruction or materials in teaching the last-named subject, but tentative experiments were being made as best they could be without money. There were two schools in the county—a white one at Benning and a colored one at Hillsdale—where excellent teaching in sewing and cooking was done. In the higher grades of the elementary schools and in the high school most creditable work was done in the way of making the apparatus to practically illustrate the principles of physics and other natural sciences taught in the schools. At the two public schools located at the Industrial Home above Georgetown, horticulture, floriculture, wood-work, sewing, cooking, and shoemaking were successfully taught. A room in the Franklin building was set apart at each annual exhibition for the products of this manual training, which attracted more and more attention. There one could see the practical results of manual training in all the lines indicated above. The teaching of shoemaking was notably successful for a time, and all the materials, tools, parts of the work as it progressed, the finished shoe, and the mended shoe were fully represented in the exhibit.

The selection of a teacher of shoemaking was a very fortunate one. The teacher was an intelligent, apt, and enthusiastic young man, who very early in life had thoroughly learned both the theory and the practice of his art and afterward had studied theology. While employed in teaching shoemaking he wrote in poetry a treatise on the art of shoemaking, and published an illustrated edition of his work. The treatise and illustrations were highly commendable, but the didactic part gained nothing by the poetic form in which it was embodied. The fault may possibly have been in the subject. He left the school, and I know not whether shoemaking, theology, or the Muse has since claimed him as her own. I am confident, however, that the world has lost nothing by it, if the good shoemaker has stuck to his last.

As a further step in the introduction of industrial education into the schools, upon my recommendation, a standing committee of the board of trustees was given special charge of this subject, and it was made their duty to make a full examination into the subject and to report from time to time measures for its judicious and practical extension.

In 1873 also the first exhibit of the public schools at an international exposition was made at Vienna. It included a model of the Franklin school building, made on an exact scale, and in sections of a story each, so that they could be taken apart and studied in detail. It cost \$1,000, and was a center of attraction in the educational department of that exposition. In 1876 another exhibit of the schools was made at Philadelphia, in 1878 another at Paris, and in 1884 another at New Orleans. On each of these occasions the schools received the highest award of medals and diplomas made in the educational department of the exposition.

The exhibit at Paris was unique in its arrangement, and Dr Philbrick, the superintendent in charge of the educational part of the United States section, gave it the post of honor in his court. It was made up of thousands of specimens of all kinds of scholars' work, from the lowest primary to the normal

school, neatly bound in volumes; a complete set of text and reference books used in the schools; a set of the annual reports of the public schools; copies of all record books and blank forms used; a chart giving all the educational institutions of the city of Washington, with full statistics of the same; a map of Washington, showing the location of all its school-houses; large photographs and plans of the more important ones, and a model of the Henry school building. A very large Danner revolving book-case, some six feet or more square at the top, was made by the manufacturer expressly for this purpose and presented to the school authorities. Just below the top of the case convenient drawers were placed to hold the charts, maps, large photographs, etc., and were so arranged that they could be drawn entirely out and made to rest at an angle convenient for handling and inspecting their contents. On the shelves below were arranged in a classified order the bound volumes of the exhibit. The case was surmounted by a very fine model of the Henry school building, made on an exact scale and in sections of a story each. The whole was accompanied by a full printed catalogue, arranged in the order in which the articles were to be found and giving all necessary explanations. At the request of the French government the exhibit was left in Paris, to be placed in the pedagogical museum in the Palais Bourbon.

By an act of Congress approved June 20, 1874, the territorial form of government of the District of Columbia was abolished, and a government by three Commissioners was set up in its place, the Congress reserving to itself the legislative functions of government.

The Honorable William Dennison, of Ohio, the president of the first Board of Commissioners, was fully alive to the importance of the public schools, among the many interests committed to his charge. He was in office at a time when the comprehensive system of improvements projected, carried out, and under way by the heroic treatment of Governor Shepherd left him a narrow financial margin for building up

a school system, yet it is due to him to say that he gave the schools the full benefit of all that the law allowed, and always used his somewhat indefinite prerogatives and his influence to the fullest extent in their behalf. The public schools at no time have had a more sincere and intelligent friend in the executive chair, and most worthily has his name been given to one of the prominent school-houses of the city. Soon after he came into office, by orders of the Commissioners, dated August 8 and September 9, 1874, the four boards of trustees of public schools were consolidated into one, consisting of nineteen members, thus taking another step necessary to a union in one system.

In appointing the new board of trustees, Commissioner Dennison, who had special charge of the schools, had taken care to appoint some men who had large and successful experience in teaching, conducting, and organizing schools here and elsewhere, and also to select the members so that they should fairly represent all the local and separate interests then existing. The following is the list of members:

Colonel George W. Dyer, A. Hart, Dr R. B. Detrick, William R. Woodward, General Charles E. Hovey, Edmund F. French, Elward Champlin, Benjamin F. Lloyd, W. W. Curtis, F. W. Moffat, John H. Brooks, Henry Johnson, William Perry Ryder, J. H. Ferguson, John Sullivan Brown, Reverend Claudius B. Smith, Solomon G. Brown, Philip L. Brooke, and Benjamin F. Packard.

In distributing the membership of the board the Commissioner recognized the school districts as they then existed, and left any rearrangement that might be deemed desirable and all other details of the management of the schools as one system to the discretion of the new board of trustees. The task set before them was no light one. The schedules of salaries, the organization of the schools, the rules, the courses of study, the text-books used, and the state of advancement in the several systems varied more or less at that time, and there were the usual local preferences and jealousies to be subordinated and interests to be subserved. Commissioner

Dennison, as governor of Ohio and otherwise, had had much to do with the excellent common schools of his own state, and his knowledge and experience made his counsel and influence valuable.

This board of trustees commenced by administering each of the former systems on its own basis, but gradually brought them all under a common educational regime, with uniform courses of study and one code of rules. The rules which were then framed for a thorough and impartial examination of candidates for teachers' positions and promotions and granting graded certificates of qualifications were so excellent that they have been in force ever since without any material amendment. As practically the schools now had yearly courses of study, the board abolished the nomenclature of primary, secondary, intermediate, and grammar grades, divided the schools into eight distinct grades, making the average work of a year constitute the course for each grade, and, beginning with the lowest class, designated it the first grade, and so on up to the highest or eighth grade, with special provision for pupils to continue in the eighth grade two years, if this was found necessary in order to thoroughly complete the elementary course of study, which would give to a majority of pupils all the scholastic education needed for good citizenship and useful lives.

The white and the colored schools were separate, but were managed by a common board composed of a white and colored membership and had a common course of study and in all respects the same facilities. The unification of the school system had thus step by step reached its utmost practicable limit.

The schools increased so rapidly that the need of more professional supervision than could be given by the two superintendents was recognized, and in 1873 the first step toward supplying this want was taken by assigning an assistant teacher to a boys' eighth grade school in each district, so that the principal might have some time for supervision of the other schools of his district. A little later the amount of

time to be given to supervision by the principals was increased, although still teaching in and held responsible for their respective eighth grade schools. Finally in 1880 they were relieved of all teaching and responsibility in any special school and became a corps of assistant superintendents, or supervising principals, as they were designated.

The colored schools of Washington and Georgetown, which had retained their separate superintendency under the consolidated arrangement of the schools, fell into line in the matter of additional supervision.

The old territorial name of school district was abandoned to avoid the confusion arising from the use of the same term as applied to all the territory of the seat of government, and the schools of the District of Columbia were divided into eight groups, designated divisions, and a supervising principal was assigned to take charge of each division. The following is the list of names of the first corps of supervising principals:

Henry N. Copp, Nathaniel P. Gage, Alexander T. Stuart, John E. Thompson, Bernard T. Janney, Joseph R. Keene, Henry P. Montgomery, and Winfield Scott Montgomery. All but two of these, Mr Copp and Mr Thompson, are now in the service.

By an act of the City Council approved as far back as November 1, 1858, the establishment of a high school was ordered to go into effect September 1, 1861, or as soon thereafter as the corporation should provide accommodation for the same. That accommodation was never provided by the corporation, and consequently as the schools increased and were improved, one after another high school study was added to the grammar school curriculum until it became overcrowded and burdensome. Meanwhile public sentiment had veered around and was quite strong against spending public funds on high-school education for the present, at any rate. On the other hand, the advent of the normal school had emphasized the necessity of furnishing candidates of higher qualifications for

that school, whose course of study, limited to one year, was designed to be entirely professional—in fact, there was no time for academic studies.

In 1876, therefore, all the pupils in the girls' eighth grade schools sufficiently advanced to take up high-school studies were placed under a competent teacher in one school, designated an advanced grammar school, with a one year's course of study. This first modest step toward a high school fortunately alarmed no one, and at the end of the year the experiment had been so successful that there was a general and urgent demand for a similar school for the boys. It was accordingly established in 1877. In 1879 the course of study in both schools was lengthened to two years. In 1880 they had become so popular that it was safe to name them high schools, and this was formally done. As I have already stated, the Congress had provided for a high school building in 1881, and it was ready for occupancy in 1882.

It was located on a portion of the western half of the square bounded by O, P, Sixth, and Seventh streets northwest, which had been purchased at an earlier date by the corporation as a site for a market, but the Congress having been convinced that the city needed schools more than markets appropriated it to the use of the former. The Henry and the Polk schools also are now located on the same half square. The fact that the corporation already owned ground that could be utilized for a site greatly facilitated the passage of the appropriation for a building. A like circumstance favored the appropriation for the Jefferson school at an earlier date, a part of the site already belonging to the corporation, having likewise been purchased a few years before for a market.

In 1882 the two high schools were united and installed in their new building, with three courses of study—business, English, and classical, the latter lengthened to three years. As the cost of education in a high school is more than twice as great per pupil as it is in elementary schools, it was deemed best to have a high standard of qualifications for entering the high school and a shorter course of study after admission

rather than a low standard for entering, followed by a long and more expensive high-school course.

This arrangement was based on the theory advanced by Professor Henry, quoted above, that the simple but most important arts of reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic should be thoroughly taught in the lower grades of the schools and not be postponed to the high-school course, where, to say nothing of other disadvantages, the expense of acquiring these arts would be doubled.

Having a high standard for admission, the high school, with its three years' course, had no difficulty whatever in preparing its pupils to enter any college in the country. The school was thoroughly equipped with physical, chemical, and other laboratories, and all necessary appliances, and, as the nucleus of a reference and general library, more than 5,000 valuable books of the old Washington Library Association, which had suspended operations a few years before, were turned over to the high school.

Mr Edward A. Paul, an excellent organizer and executive officer, was appointed the first principal of the new high school, and he had to assist him a faculty of the brightest young men and women that could be found in the country. They were all full college graduates, and some of them had pursued post-graduate studies and taken the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. They were selected with reference to teaching special subjects, but at the same time were all-round teachers, as it was important they should be at that early stage of the school, when there was no money available for the employment of exclusive specialists. There was Mr F. R. Lane, the present efficient and accomplished principal of the high school, who organized the course in English literature; Mr George R. Israel, who organized the course in chemistry and the military training which has become so prominent and popular a feature of the school; Mr Frank Angell, who organized the athletics, football, baseball, Indian clubs, etc; Mr C. Herschel Koyl, who organized the course in physics and the manual training; Mr Elgin R. L. Gould, who organized

the course in history and economics ; Mr Edward L. Burgess, who organized the courses in Greek and botany ; Mr William Bernhardt, who organized the course in German, and Mr Camille Fontaine, who organized the course in French ; and the eminent success which the high school at once achieved in all these and other lines of its undertakings was due to the intelligence, enthusiasm, and energy of its corps of bright young teachers.

But few of these first teachers are now in the school ; some have died and others are filling high positions elsewhere. Mr Angell is a professor in Leland Stanford Junior University, California, Mr Gould a professor in Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, and a well-known writer on economics, and Mr Burgess a professor in the New York Normal College.

The colored schools of Washington and Georgetown, while an independent organization, had established a high school at an early date, and a normal school for them followed close in the wake of that for the white schools.

The schools were growing rapidly and making constant demands for new school-houses, at a heavy expense, so that in the winter of 1883 the writer devoted much time to the study of plans of school-houses, both in this country and abroad, with the view of combining the best pedagogical and hygienic arrangements in a safe, plain, substantial school-house at the least possible expense consistent with those essential requirements. The best authorities on shape and size of school-rooms, arrangement of cloak-rooms, space required for pupils, size and location of windows, ease and safety of stairways, location and size of ventilating shafts, placing of registers for heat and ventilation, location and construction of closets, and, in short, all the details of a good school-house, were carefully studied. After details had been adopted and represented by floor plans, statements, figures, etc, the material was placed in the hands of an architect in this city, Mr John B. Brady, now District inspector of buildings, to be put in architectural form, with instructions that no architecture was

to be indulged in that would increase the expense of construction. There were two designs; one for a school-house three stories high, with twelve school-rooms, and one two stories high, with eight school-rooms. He very kindly undertook the work, without any assurance of compensation for his services, and devoted a great deal of time and labor to tentative efforts before reaching results entirely satisfactory to us both. It happened fortunately soon after that he was appointed to a position requiring a competent architect in the office of the District inspector of buildings, upon whom was devolved the duty of preparing the plans of new school-houses. These plans already prepared by him and approved by the school board were at once adopted by the Commissioners, and the two buildings were shortly after erected—the Analostan with twelve rooms, and the Amidon with eight rooms.

The Analostan, in the vicinity of the island bearing that name, was so named after unusual consultation with citizens especially qualified to give advice in such a matter. The name was euphonious and derived from a race who were supposed to have held their great councils near by for generations before the white man came here. For some unaccountable reason the Commissioners subsequently changed the name to Grant. Opportunities in abundance to honor the great Union general in this way are afforded in the several new school-houses built each year, and it is to be hoped that the original name of this building will yet be restored.

When the large school building on Capitol hill, fronting Stanton park, was erected it was named "L'Enfant School," and the name was carved on the bluestone panel, corresponding with the other stone trimmings, specially designed for this purpose. The citizens of that section of the city, as soon as the name appeared, vigorously protested against it on the ground that it would always be mispronounced and called "The Infant School." In deference to their wishes a change was made, and so a gray marble slab, inscribed "Peabody School," was placed over the original name. In a distant future some explorer may lift that marble slab and find buried

beneath it the honors intended to be paid to Charles Pierre L'Enfant, the great engineer, who in planning this city left that reservation, which has now become a most beautiful park, for the benefit of the hundreds of children attending the Peabody school.

The plan of the Analostan, the twelve-room building, was in some respects the better one, but it was proportionately more expensive. An open court from the center of the building to the rear gave great advantages in keeping the central corridors supplied with pure air. The difficulties and expense of keeping an assembly-room at all times supplied with pure air without the aid of window ventilation has been abundantly demonstrated in the two halls of Congress, and every one familiar with school-room ventilation fully understands this. In these two buildings, in order to have the assistance of window ventilation without harmful drafts upon the children, the upper part, about one-fourth of each window, was hinged at the bottom on a transom, so that it could be opened from the top inward at any required angle by means of a fixture easily accessible, and thus any amount of fresh air desired could be admitted at the top of the room in a way that avoided all injurious drafts on the pupils. This arrangement gave the highest satisfaction to the schools, but the fixtures sometimes got out of order and became troublesome to the inspector of buildings, who had charge of such matters, and so I regret to say he ordered them to be taken off and the transoms to be permanently closed. In my judgment, the fixtures should be restored, or some better means be found for making the intended use of these transom windows.

Another building on the plan of the Analostan was erected, but the two-story plan has been the most popular for the time being, and all the buildings for elementary schools since constructed in the city have taken the Amidon as a type. The Amidon cost only about \$20,000, and some incidental conveniences and architectural embellishments have been added to its successors from time to time as larger amounts of money have been available for construction.

In 1884 a voluntary effort was made to obtain a small library of reference and suitable reading books for each school of the higher grades. The books were to be obtained by loan, gift, and purchase so far as funds were contributed for this purpose. In three months 212 schools had each succeeded in getting a very useful library of its own, making an aggregate of 10,176 volumes.

The schools became deeply interested in establishing and managing their little libraries, as well as in reading and consulting the books obtained through their own efforts.

The growth of the school system during the developmental period in respect to courses of study, methods of teaching, and improvements in supervision and discipline does not admit of presentation in tabular form, and must be gathered from what has been said already, but the material growth of the schools is shown in the following statement:

	1860.	1885.
Whole number of teachers.....	54	565
Whole number of pupils.....	4,500	31,362
Value of school property.....	\$30,000	\$1,500,000

I have aimed to sketch only a correct outline of the origin and growth of the school system of this city for eighty years, commencing with two little schools in rented rooms, free only to poor children, progressing at first "with wandering steps and slow," and at last reaching the high American ideal of the public education required to make citizens useful and intelligent enough to maintain our form of government. A sub-base of kindergartens for children between the ages of 4 and 6 years, especially for these who unfortunately have little or none of the parental care and training that belongs to a well-ordered home, was the only part of the plan not carried out as designed, and that is still in abeyance.

This sketch would not be complete without some note of the most valuable services rendered to the schools from 1870 to 1885 by the Honorable John Eaton, then the United States Commissioner of Education. His personal interest could hardly have been deeper and more practically effective had the schools by law been placed under his official charge.

In conclusion, if you ask what was the most important factor of all in this work, I answer, unhesitatingly, the corps of teachers—intelligent, progressive, faithful to duty, and loyal to their leaders as ever were the famous “six hundred.”

IN MEMORIAM

KATE FIELD

1840-1896

JOSEPH MEREDITH TONER

1825-1896

WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
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IN MEMORIAM

KATE FIELD—1840-1896

JOSEPH MEREDITH TONER—1825-1896

The Board of Managers of the Columbia Historical Society on October 26, 1896, appointed a committee to prepare suitable memorials respecting three of its charter members who had died during the preceding summer.

These deceased members are Miss Kate Field, who died May 19, 1896; Dr Joseph Meredith Toner, who died July 30, 1896, and Dr George Brown Goode, who died September 6, 1896.

The memorial as to Dr Toner was prepared by Justice Martin F. Morris and read before the Society December 7, 1896. At the same meeting Mr W J McGee read a memorial of Kate Field. These memorials are printed herewith.

As to Dr Goode, it was decided not to prepare a separate memorial for these records, because arrangements were in progress for a *general* memorial meeting, to be participated in by various organizations of which he was a member. Such memorial meeting was subsequently held on his natal day, February 13, 1897, in the National Museum, of which he was Director at the time of his death. The proceedings of that meeting, with the memorial addresses, are soon to be published.

MEMORIAL OF KATE FIELD

Kate Field first saw the light in St Louis in 1840; her eyes were darkened in Honolulu May 19, 1896.

Born on the banks of the great river of the continent just as the wave of pioneer conquest swept across it, Kate Field breathed from the first an atmosphere of activity and self-reliance. Nurtured in the "future great city" of local prophecy, she early caught something of the spirit of the towering ambitions and vast enterprises by which she was surrounded. Here were planted the seeds of that courage, patriotism, probity, and aggressive straightforwardness which gave character to all her later life; and when transported from the bustle of a busy frontier town to the Athens of America the graces of culture and tranquillity were the more welcome and the more readily absorbed by reason of their novelty. In Massachusetts her education was thorough. She mastered the accomplishments proper to the gentlefolk of New England, developing special proficiency in literature and the arts. Her aptitude in music and painting led her abroad; and under the tutelage of the masters in their generation, in Florence and in London, her artistic culture was matured. During her childhood in the enterprising interior town there was born in her an intense appreciation of her natal nation, perhaps only the deeper because of her foreign ancestry. During her girlhood in staid New England she met some of the choicest spirits of the age, and her love of the country which had brought them forth was deepened. During her young womanhood in sunny Italy and stolid Britain, as in other lands of Europe, she constantly compared and contrasted national characteristics, with the result that her *amor patriæ*

glowed only the more brightly, and in the end she came to regard the American people as the flower of civilization, and her adult life was controlled by this sentiment. America has produced no more devoted patriot than Kate Field.

The child of a playwright and journalist, Miss Field's predilections were for the stage and the press. During her training abroad she combined histrionic study with writing, and became a valued foreign correspondent of several leading American journals; and on her return to this country she attained merited celebrity on the stage, particularly in New York during and after 1870. As time passed her literary work became more serious, and gradually she withdrew from Terpsichore and clove unto Pallas. Her half dozen or more published books, her scores of important articles, and her hundreds of notes and notices sparkle with wit and scintillate with originality, and typically illustrate the lighter vein of modern literature; yet all her more extended writings are illumined by the glow of exalted purpose and steadfast conviction—the purpose of improving and ennobling humanity, and the conviction of success in the effort. The writings display wide, almost extraordinary, versatility, ranging from dramatic notice and mirth-provoking skit to grave record of fact and mechanical principles, as in the "History of Bell's Telephone," and even into sober philosophy, as in the analysis of the life and work of Fechter. As a dramatist, Miss Field was literary, perhaps too literary for the taste of the times; as a litterateur, she was dramatic, perhaps too dramatic for permanency; yet she had the happy faculty of combining the two generally distinct arts of acting and writing, and the products of her pen have contributed to the molding of thousands of minds, just as the same and other thousands of minds are more lightly molded by the soon-forgotten drama; and it is to be remembered of Kate Field's writings, as of her impersonations and music, that they were healthy in tone, always pleasant to the taste, and good in effect.

A thorough American of the best type, her life abroad did

much to inspire respect for republican institutions, as well as for the youngest and greatest of the nations. Her energy carried her everywhere, and her graces of mind and manner made her welcome everywhere. There were no circles which did not open unto her; when Queen and Empress Victoria, then in Osborne castle, first placed the telephone to her ear, it was Kate Field's voice that pulsed through the wire to greet her; and into every circle she carried the aroma of freedom, the charm of republican simplicity, the ease and assurance proper to the scion of an ascendant nation. Yet her vigorous Americanism was toned with an opulent charity which at once disarmed and conquered antagonism. Her influence on foreign thought concerning her country was great, and as of the wave in sluggish lake, which rolls on in ever-widening circles.

As faith blossoms in hope and bears fruit in charity, so patriotism matures in public service; and although she was debarred by sex from battlefields and legislative halls, Kate Field's enthusiastic Americanism was not lost unto her countryfolk—her leading rôle in the drama of life was that of a public benefactor. An exponent and defender, during her young womanhood abroad, of American institutions and characteristics, she was compelled to study critically the elements and conditions of our national progress, and on returning to the land of her birth she at once set herself to the task of repairing every flaw in our national armor which the shafts of alien antagonism perchance might penetrate. The energy and the breadth of view displayed in the performance of this self-appointed task were remarkable; no line of American activity—industrial, esthetic, or institutional—escaped her attention, and none failed to receive benefit through her efforts. Perceiving, so early as 1880, that the individuality of American women was blighted by defective and over-expensive costume, she initiated a coöperative dress association, which failed financially because premature—the bicycle had not yet arisen to rend the fetters of effete fashion forever,—though the influence of the movement was not lost on

the minds of American women ; perceiving that American wine-consumers were at the same time taxed and poisoned by the importation of inferior products of the vine, she preached the gospel of American viticulture and wine-making, and thereby enriched and enlarged the vineyards of America ; perceiving that the esthetic lagged behind the material in the development of the country, she inaugurated an art crusade which leavened the land from ocean to ocean and led to the creation of a national art association and to a liberal legislation which constitute perhaps the most enduring American monument to Kate Field. These are but examples of her good works ; their name is legion. She reached the people through magazine articles, press correspondence, public lectures, personal conferences, all without number, in the course of a life phenomenally active even for this ever active country, and she reached their hearts through her own inspiring enthusiasm. Like other good citizens, she had some private interests, but these were ever subordinate to the public weal ; in whatsoever enterprise she engaged, her interest and charity of purpose were evident to all who knew her, and her penetrating eye—cold to some, but clear to all—looked through sham and affectation and sought out that which was best and noblest in those with whom she came in contact. America is richer, more cultured, and nobler, and the world is better because of Kate Field's life.

Through her interest in national affairs Miss Field drifted to the national capital as the spark flies upward ; her weekly review, "Kate Field's Washington," issued regularly from 1890 to 1895, constitutes one of the foremost American examples of personal journalism. Although she secured the aid of others in conducting this enterprise, the greater part of the work was her own, and the editorial and other items were characterized by such vigor, vividness, and fearlessness as to render the review a peculiarly faithful mirror of men and events during the lustrum of its life. To the future historian of the national capital "Kate Field's Washington" will be a boon, and the history of the nation cannot be written

fairly without recognition of the journal and the shaping of public affairs through its influence.

Kate Field's agency in instituting the Columbia Historical Society is especially noteworthy to members of that body. When the project was broached, it immediately received her personal support and the support of her journal; she attended the preliminary conference and the meeting for organization, and despite the pressure of other interests and the weight of failing health, was a fairly regular attendant at the meetings of Board and Society so long as she remained in Washington, and adequate notices of the proceedings were promptly printed in the columns of her review. By her associates in the formation of this Society, Kate Field will long be held in pleasant memory.

There came a time when Miss Field was compelled to feel that the task of continuing her multifarious activities, including the maintenance of her review, was too great for her strength, and with characteristic honesty she explained to her subscribers that, since personal journalism involved personal attention, and since personal attention was no longer possible, the publication must terminate. Relieved of this share of her burden, she sought the isles of the sunset, ostensibly and primarily for rest, yet (as those who knew her character were well aware) to see with her own eyes new possibilities for the future of her nation. For a time the rest was sweet to tired mind and body, and she was refreshed; but the renewal of activity soon outran the restoration of strength, a slight shock proved too much for an enfeebled system, and the end came without warning.

When Kate Field died, Hawaii mourned; when the news crossed the Pacific, the great people of whom she was a representative mourned even more bitterly; yet their sorrow was tempered with the satisfaction of recalling the stainless life and noble achievements of one of the brightest among them.

W J MCGEE.



JOSEPH MEREDITH TONER, M. D.

THE JOURNAL OF JOSEPH MERRILL TOWLER

JOSEPH MERRILL TOWLER was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, on April 7th, A. D. 1831. He was the second of two brothers, sons of Meredith Towler, a well known merchant of that city, and a native of Philadelphia. His early education in the common schools of the city of Philadelphia and subsequently at Westminster College, in that city, which his mother, who was early left a widow, superintended to the end of the subject of our studies, and he was then sent to the West. Afterward he attended the University of Western Pennsylvania, and then the University of Maryland at Annapolis, in the State of Maryland. He was a member of the medical school, either mentioned or omitted in the catalogue of the science of medicine, in the year 1857, then known as De Bow University, located at the city of Annapolis, in the State of Pennsylvania. In the course of his years of study and practical experience under the instruction of Dr. Lowman, he attended lectures in the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia during the winter of 1849-50. He subsequently he entered the Medical College at the city of Burlington, Vermont, from which, in June, 1850, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and immediately qualified to enter upon the practice of his profession.

In the year 1850 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was organized, which was at the time regarded as a gigantic and revolutionary enterprise, the reconstruction of its road over the high mountains in such manner as to change the old Portage system, so well known to the older generation of mountain countries, and whereby it was necessary to take the trains up the mountain sides by means of several small stationary engines. As part of the new system



JOHN MEREDITH TURNER, M. D.

MEMORIAL OF JOSEPH MEREDITH TONER

Joseph Meredith Toner was born in the city of Pittsburg, in the State of Pennsylvania, on April 30, A. D. 1825. He was the elder of two brothers, sons of Meredith Toner and Ann Layton, both of them also natives of Pennsylvania. Joseph received his early education in the common schools of the city of Pittsburg, and subsequently of Westmoreland County, to which his mother, who was early left a widow, removed during the boyhood of the subject of our sketch, and where she died and was buried. Afterwards he attended for a time the Western Pennsylvania University and Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, in the State of Maryland; but he never completed a classical course in either institution.

Developing a taste for the science of medicine, he entered, in A. D. 1847, the office of Dr John Lowman, then the leading physician of Johnstown, in the State of Pennsylvania. After two years of study and practical experience under the tuition of Dr Lowman, he attended lectures at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia during the winter of 1849-1850; and subsequently he entered the Medical College at Woodstock, in the State of Vermont, from which, in June, A. D. 1850, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He was then fully qualified to enter upon the practice of his chosen profession.

In the year 1850 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was engaged in what was at the time regarded as a gigantic and extremely difficult enterprise, the reconstruction of its road across the Alleghany mountains in such manner as to eliminate the old Portage system, so well known to the older residents of the mountain counties, and whereby it was necessary to haul the trains up the mountains by means of several inclines and stationary engines. As part of the new system

it was resolved to pierce the culminating ridge and bore a tunnel through the mountains for the passage of the road through the bowels of the earth, a matter of comparative facility in this present age, but at that time a most difficult enterprise and attended with many casualties.

There was a fine field for the skill of the surgeon and the science of the physician. There had been a physician in the neighborhood, who for many years had been almost the sole practitioner in a wide circuit extending from Hollidaysburg to Ebensburg; but he had just died, and the field was open to the first enterprising occupant that should seize the opportunity. At that moment Dr. Toner returned fresh from his studies in Vermont, and settled at the little village of Summit, a place of about four hundred inhabitants, situated, as its name would imply, on the crest of the mountains, a station on the old Portage road, although now off the reconstructed line, and a little to the west of the western end of the tunnel. It was historic ground. It was on the turnpike between Hollidaysburg and Ebensburg, long the main line of communication between the East and the West: and the whole country around had been made famous in the early days of the century by the missionary labors of the noted Russian Prince-Priest Demetrius Galitzin.

That Dr. Toner, then in the heyday and amid all the enthusiasm of youth, availed himself of the opportunity that was thus presented to him of an active and successful practice, even those who knew him only in his later years of comparative retirement may well appreciate. But the opportunity had its limitations. When the great tunnel was completed, the field of practice became narrowed again to that of the ordinary country practitioner; and this did not satisfy the somewhat ambitious aspirations of Dr. Toner. Before selecting a new field, however, he resolved to improve himself by a new course of study at Jefferson College, from which he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in A. D. 1853. As already stated, he had previously received the same degree from the Medical College, at Woodstock, in Vermont.

He now resolved to return to the city of his birth, and he established himself in Pittsburg.

The cholera devastated Pittsburg, with other cities of the Union, in 1854; and our young practitioner had ample opportunity to display his skill in coping with this dreaded scourge of our race. It is stated that he was quite successful with his cases, and that he seemed to have an excellent prospect for the successful practice of his profession in Pittsburg. But whether he deemed his progress there to be too slow, or whether he was inspired, as youth will often be, by the love of adventure, he yielded to the solicitations of a former college friend, Hon. William Walsh, of Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, and took up his residence for a time in that little mountain city. It was only a halting place between Pittsburg and his ultimate place of destination. Casting inquisitive glances from side to side, at Harper's Ferry, New Orleans and Norfolk, he was induced at last to take up his residence in Washington, on the 7th of November, A. D. 1855. He had at last found his true sphere of operations. He knew but two persons in Washington at the time, one of them a schoolmate at Emmitsburg. When he died, all Washington knew him, and all Washington loved him.

About the time of his arrival in Washington, the Crimean war was in progress. The young physician, eager for distinction in his profession, offered his services to the Russian government through the Russian Minister to the United States. But through the delays of what is known as the circumlocution office, no action seems ever to have been taken upon his offer. Ample opportunity for the same services, however, was approaching in our own country. Our own great war came; and for four years Washington was one vast hospital. Without stint and without hope of remuneration Dr. Toner's services were given in that great emergency. And then it was that his active mind began to devise some of the many schemes of charity and humanitarianism which then and afterwards took shape and substance in realization.

The Washington infirmary was burned in 1861: it was

mainly through Dr. Toner's efforts that the present Providence hospital was established in its place. He was one of the promoters and founders of St. Anne's infant asylum and of St. Joseph's orphan asylum; and to these, as well as to several other similar institutions, his professional services were rendered gratuitously for many years. He was active also in the establishment of the Garfield hospital. And for many years and up to the time of his death he was one of the board of managers of the Government Hospital for the Insane, otherwise known as St. Elizabeth's, in the operations of which he evinced a most zealous and devoted interest and most conscientious care. In fact, everything that had for its purpose the amelioration of the woes of our suffering humanity had his warmest sympathy and his earnest coöperation.

The Medical society of the District of Columbia, with which he became connected soon after his arrival in Washington and of which he subsequently became president, and the American Medical Association, an organization of the physicians of the United States, into which he infused new life in 1865, and of which he also became president at a subsequent date (A. D. 1873), were both objects of great interest to him, and both elicited from him papers and addresses of very great value and importance from a scientific and hygienic point of view.

In 1872 he established the Toner Lectures for the advancement of science and the promotion of research for the discovery of scientific truth, especially in the domain of medicine. And the same zeal for the promotion of science it was that induced him to give a medal for several years at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, and also to found a medal to be awarded for scientific research at the University of Georgetown.

We are all more or less familiar with his magnificent donation of his library, probably the largest library in the United States of local American history, containing about 28,000 bound volumes and about 18,000 pamphlets, to the

people of the United States in 1882, to be kept as a distinct collection in the Library of Congress, for which donation he received the thanks of Congress, and was complimented by having his bust in marble placed in the Library. Another library, a duplicate to a certain extent of that which he presented to the United States, he donated to the Cambria County Medical Society at Johnstown, in the State of Pennsylvania, in recognition of the fact that in that county, at Johnstown and at Summit, his professional career had been begun.

In the later years of his life Dr. Toner gradually withdrew himself from the active practice of his profession, although he never wholly abandoned it; and he gave himself up more to literary pursuits, and especially to the elucidation of the life of George Washington. Probably there was no man in America more thoroughly familiar with the life of Washington than he was. He published, with annotations, several of Washington's journals, diaries, and other writings; and he was a most industrious collector of Washington's letters and of contemporary papers having reference to him. Nor will it soon be forgotten by those of us who had the pleasure of his hospitality that it was admiration for the Father of our Country that induced him to gather around himself, on successive years, all of us whom he could on the day honored by all of us as the natal day of Washington.

Of his papers and addresses, other than his writings relative to Washington, he published upwards of fifty, nearly all of them upon medical or hygienic subjects: but some were of a biographical character, and some, like his "Notes on the burning of Theatres" and his "Dictionary of Elevations," were on subjects of more general interest. All, however, in accordance with the well known tendency of his mind, had a distinctly humanitarian and utilitarian purpose.

The suggestion for the establishment of this Society did not originate with Dr. Toner, but it met with a hearty response from him; and the scheme was consummated at his residence. How many schemes for the good of the community and the welfare of our race were discussed and consummated

at his hospitable home! As one who knew him well, I might fill many a page with the narrative of the many philanthropic enterprises that were there considered, some of them of course never realized, but all of them in keeping with the tenor of his life for good and noble deeds.

He was one of the charter members of this Society; and the eminent propriety of his selection as its first President was so universally recognized that the work of organization thereby became greatly simplified. And it may in truth be added that the success, which has thus far attended the Society, is due in a great measure to his fostering care.

But even then he was in failing health. To some of us the truth was known at the time. To some of us the shadow had been manifested of the rustling of the dark Angel's wings. We knew that it was only a question of months, scarcely any longer of years. And he himself knew that his days were numbered; and calmly and systematically he prepared for the inevitable event.

Curious it is that often, when life's sands are running low, we seek the haunts of youth or the home of childhood. Dr Toner's last days were spent in the counties of Westmoreland and Cambria, in the State of Pennsylvania, at the home of his mother and his own boyhood's home, and in the very midst of the scenes where his professional career had been begun forty-six years before. It was a great pleasure to him during the few weeks immediately preceding his death to visit the friends of his youth and the scenes of his early life at Hollidaysburg, Ebensburg, Loretto, Wildwood, Gallitzin, and Summit. He visited Johnstown, endeared to him by many pleasant memories. He visited Derry, where was his mother's grave and where had been her and his home. It was pathetic to see this longing for the friends and the scenes of other days: for it was prophetic of the approaching crisis.

When he returned to Cresson from his last visit, which was to his brother at Derry, it was evident that the hand of death was upon him. The next day was one of suffering; and yet he maintained the unvarying cheerfulness for which he was

noted. After dinner he resolved to retire to his room, and he remarked: "I am going to rest." These words were his last; and they were prophetic. At sunset he was found dead in his chair, his eyes closed in the calm sleep of eternal rest, and the benevolence of soul which had been so greatly characteristic of him during life still leaving its profound impress upon his countenance. He died on Thursday, the 30th day of July, A. D. 1896, within half a mile of the village of Summit where forty-six years before he had entered upon his professional career.

Upon a summer Sunday afternoon, in the little village churchyard on the hills of Derry, between the great ridges of the Alleghanies, within a stone's throw of the home where his mother had lived and died, to a grave beside his mother's grave, we consigned all that was mortal of Joseph M. Toner. His spirit lives; and his memory will not soon perish from the hearts of those who knew him, and knowing had reason to love him.

I do not think it is too much to say of our deceased and honored friend, what Fitz-Greene Halleck said of Joseph Rodman Drake:

"None knew thee but to love thee
None named thee but to praise."

His was a genial and kindly nature. As physician, as philanthropist, as citizen, as friend, he endeared himself to all who had the pleasure of intercourse with him. He never spoke an unkind word of any one. He never sought to detract from others one iota of the merit due to them, while laudably ambitious of fame for himself. In the sick room he was a ray of sunshine, a comforter and consoler as well as physician. In council he was always wise and prudent; in conduct, always moderate and conservative. He never shrunk from responsibility, while he never loved the hazardous. He was an earnest, true, and sincere friend, and a public-spirited citizen. While not a man of classical education or great scholastic attainments, he had a truly philo-

sophic mind, always an earnest seeker after truth, always an earnest inquirer into the reason of things and the philosophy of human action. Of him it may be truly said, that the world is better for that he has lived. Those who knew him best will miss him most. The friends who were closest to him appreciate that friendship such as his never comes but once in a lifetime.

The mortal remains lie mouldering in that little village graveyard on the hills of Derry ; but the noble kindly spirit, we may trust, is yet with us. To the memory of such a man this Society should especially render honor. As I have stated, he was its first, and thus far its only President. The latest efforts of his life were expended in the insurance of its success. I am authorized to report the following resolution, to be placed, with this memorial, upon the minutes of the proceedings of the Society :

Whereas it has pleased the Providence that rules the world to call from us by death in the full maturity of his years and after a life well spent in kindly deeds our honored President, Joseph Meredith Toner, and it is fitting that we should give due expression of our regard for him on the records of the Society to be an evidence of his worth to after generations, now, therefore, be it—

Resolved, That in the death of Joseph Meredith Toner we recognize the loss to us of a most worthy member and associate, one to whom the Society is under lasting obligations for his efforts in its establishment and his kindly care in the furtherance of its purposes, a faithful friend, a true philanthropist, a zealous physician, an upright citizen, and an honest man, one to be long remembered with the simple great ones gone forever and ever by.

And be it further resolved, That this memorial and these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the proceedings of the Society, and that a copy of them be transmitted to the brother of the deceased as his next of kin.

MARTIN F. MORRIS.

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WASHINGTON
IN THE
FORBES EXPEDITION OF 1758

BY
JOSEPH MEREDITH TONER, M. D.

[Read before the Society March 2, 1896]

WASHINGTON
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The example of love of country, strict integrity, high aims, industry, perseverance, and stability of purpose, with the maxims of conduct and other good suggestions left us as an inheritance by the Father of our Country, like the blessings of Providence, seem to be inexhaustible. Almost every month some letter, document, or opinion of his is discovered or printed for the first time, notwithstanding the zeal and energy of the organized associations of loyal men and women throughout the United States, including an army of writers, who have been for many years engaged in bringing to public notice interesting events and occurrences in the life, labor, and writings of George Washington. The number of valuable unpublished letters of Washington which are still being discovered is surprisingly numerous and their contents are read with undiminished interest. Judging from the past, we may hope that the future will be fruitful in bringing to light many more productions of this marvelous letter-writer—productions which have hitherto remained in seclusion and which must remain an enduring benediction to the people and of special value in illustrating the history and the rise of our Republic.

We here present in facsimile the draft of a notably important letter and two plans for marching an army through a wooded country. These plans were devised and written by Colonel George Washington at the solicitation of General John Forbes in 1758. General Forbes was then in command of an expedition against Fort Du Quesne, and it would seem had requested all his colonels to favor him with plans and suggestions on this subject. Responses to this request from his other officers were doubtless made, but Washington's is the only one of whose existence we have knowledge, and it has been preserved through his habit of keeping drafts of his more important letters. The original, forwarded to General Forbes, was doubtless written and drawn with greater care, but is probably lost. The transmitted draft of this letter was and probably still is in the office of the Chief Engineer of the United States Army, as General Charles Gratiot certified that it was before him and that he had compared with it the lithographic copy, whose accuracy he endorsed.

The first draft of the letter is written on the inside of a double folio sheet of paper, the letter proper occupying the left hand and the plans of march the right hand page. Across the middle of the sheet when closed is the following endorsement, also in Washington's handwriting:

To Genl. Forbes—Commanding His Majesty's Forces Employed on the Ohio Expedition.

SIR: In consequence of your request of the Colonels assembled at your lodgings the 5th Inst I offer the plans on this other side to y^r consideration—They express my thoughts on a line of march through a country covered with woods & how that line of march may be formed in an instant into an Order of Battle.

The first plan suggested by Colonel Washington was in the main adopted by General Forbes and followed as the order of march from Loyal Hannon, now Ligonier, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, to Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburgh.

The Plan of y^e Line of March and Order of Battle on the other side is calculated for a Forced March with field pieces only unincumber'd with

Waggon's,—It Represents; first a Line of March and Secondly how that line of March may in an Instant, be thrown into an Order of Battle in the Woods;

This Plan supposes 4000 Privates, 1000 of which—(Picked Men) are to march in Front, in three Division's,—each Division hav^g. y^e field officer to Leadin^g it besides the Commander of the whole and is to be in readiness *always* to oppose the Enemy whose Attack, if the necessary precautions are observed, must always be in front.

The First Division must, as the 2 & 3 ought likewise to be subdivided for y^e Captain's; these subdivisions to be again divided for the Subalterns and y^e. Subalterns again for the Sergeants & Corporals by which means every non Commission'd Officer will have a Party to Command under the Eye of a Subaltern as the Subalterns will have under the direction of a Captain &c^a.—

N B. I shall, tho I believe it is unnecessary, remark here,—that the Captain's when *their* sub Divisions are again divided are to take commnd. of no *particular* part of it but to attend to the whole subdivision—as the subalterns are to do—with theirs, each Captain a Subaltern acting as Commandant of the Division he is appointed to under the field officers visiting & encouraging all parts equally alike & keep^g. y^e Sold^r to y^r. Duty.

This being done the first Division is so soon as the Vang^d. is attack'd (if that gives the first notice of y^e Enemies approach) to file of to the Right & left and take to Trees,—gaining the enemies flanks and surrounding of them as describ'd in Plan the 2 —The Flank Guards on the Right which belong to y^e 2nd Division are immediately to extend to the Right follow'd by that Division and to form as described in the aforesaid plan—The Rear Grand Division is to follow the left Flankers in the same manner, in order if possible to Encompass the Enemy, which being a practice different from any thing they have ever yet experienc'd from Us, I think may be accomplish'd—

What Indians we have shou'd be Order'd to get round unperceived & fall upon the Enemy's Rear at the same time.

The Front & Rear being thus Secur'd, their remains a body of 2500 Men to form two Brigades—on the Flanks of w^{ch} 600 Men must March for safety of them, in such Order as to Form a Rank entire by only Marching y^e Capt^{ns}. & Subalt^{ns}. Guard into y^e Intervals between y^e Sergeants Parties as may be seen by y^e 2 Plan.—

The main body will now be reduc'd to 1900 Men—which sh^d be kept as a Corps de-reserve to support any part that shall be r^d. w^k. or forc'd

The whole is Submitted to Correction with the utmost Candour by Sir y^r most Obed^t & most H^{ble} Ser^t.

G^o. WASHINGTON.

Another precious document among the Washington papers in the Department of State has recently been brought to the

author's attention. It is in the nature of an orderly book, kept by Colonel Washington in the Forbes expedition. It opens at Raes Town, now Bedford, Pa., September 21, 1758. Into this book Washington copied all the orders of the general commanding, giving the camps pitched at variable distances, with the daily assignments of officers and men to duty at Bedford, in the march from Bedford to Ligonier, and from the latter place to Pittsburg. The camps were selected from convenience as to distance, water, grass for cattle, a good outlook, to avoid surprises, etc. The record was presumably made from the daily orderly book of the general commanding, whether Bouquet or Forbes. Whether General Forbes's orderly book of the expedition is still extant, and, if so, where it is, is unknown to the writer. Washington during the French and Indian hostilities was not only an active participant, but also a diligent student of the art of war, and felicitated himself upon the opportunity of serving under an officer of General Forbes's ability. This doubtless led him to perform the labor of copying these orders in the Forbes expedition, so as thoroughly to familiarize himself with all the details of management by a commanding general of recognized ability. An excerpt will be made from the orderly book further on, as it is believed an account of the Forbes expedition, which drove the French from the forks of the Ohio and from the possession of the Mississippi valley, will prove of interest.

Colonel Washington had taken the pains, while acting as aid to General Braddock in his ill-fated expedition, to copy into a book all of that general's orders on the march from Alexandria prior to the defeat of his army on the banks of the Monongahela on the 9th of July, 1755. This kind of study was characteristic of Washington. On his trip to Barbadoes, 1751, he copied the ship's log book and familiarized himself with taking observations at sea. He aimed to be thoroughly well informed upon every subject which engaged his attention or in whatever enterprise he was employed; hence the copies of those orderly books. The last is preserved in the Library of Congress, the former in the Department of

State. It is difficult for people of this day, accustomed to travel in a few hours across the Alleghany mountains by rail in palace cars, to conceive what a barrier to the passage of an army these mountains presented in 1755 and 1758, covered, as they then were, with forests and before wagon roads had been made across them. Up to the time when "the Ohio Company," in which two of George Washington's brothers were partners, improved the buffalo trail and Indian path in 1751-'52 to enable pack-horses to pass with their loads, no attempt had been anywhere made to open a road from the East over the Appalachian range of mountains to the headwaters of the Ohio. In the spring of 1754 the pack-horse road of the Ohio Company was further improved to permit the passage of light artillery or swivel guns. These were drawn by hand and were used by the armed military expedition under the actual command of Colonel George Washington. The troops had been ordered out by Governor Dinwiddie to build forts at the forks of the Ohio, now Pittsburg, to prevent the French from occupying that locality. Colonel Joshua Fry, who had been appointed to command the expedition, died at Fort Cumberland en route and before he had assumed direction in the field. After his death the command fell upon Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, who was at once promoted to the rank of colonel. He was then in the field with 300 men and had opened a road nearly to the Monongahela, when he was apprised by his Indian scouts that a vastly superior force of French and Indians had left Fort Du Quesne and were marching against him. After a council of war with his officers, it was judged prudent to retreat to Will's Creek, in hopes that he might meet reinforcements and supplies and be able to make a stand against even the superior force of the enemy. Although Colonel Washington had been reinforced a few days before by an independent company of 100 men under Captain James Mackaye from South Carolina, he was still in expectation of the arrival of two other independent companies from New York that two weeks before had landed at Alexandria; but they

did not arrive even at Will's Creek until after Colonel Washington was compelled to make a stand at Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by a force of French and Indians four times that of his own. The engagement began early in the day and lasted for eight hours, when a call was made by the French for a parley, which he deemed it prudent to grant, and a capitulation was entered into. The terms agreed upon enabled him to return with his men to the settled parts of Virginia.

One of the great needs in the early days in all the provinces was that of good wagon roads. The lack of these was a hindrance which retarded the growth of every new settlement. General Braddock was confronted with this necessity when he attempted to march his army to the head of the Ohio. He had no alternative but to make a road, and after great labor and expense the General's engineers and soldiers improved the old pack-horse road at some places and at others opened a new one from Will's Creek, now Cumberland, to Braddock's Fields, on the Monongahela. General Braddock, by urgent representations, induced the governor and Assembly of Pennsylvania to order the opening of another road for supplies and for retreat, if necessary, to pass from Carlisle and Shippensburg through Raes Town to Turkey Foot, on the Youghiogheny, and from thence to Fort Du Quesne, and to have it in a good state of forwardness before he could consider it prudent to advance his army from Fort Cumberland. Work had progressed upon this nearly parallel road, under the supervision of Colonel James Burd, as far as the top of the Alleghany mountains, and the remainder of the road was marked out to follow in the main a branch of the Youghiogheny river when Braddock's defeat occurred; but the work on the road was there and then abandoned. There were at this time no settlements about the head of the Ohio in which either of the provinces of Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania were especially interested or which required the use of a wagon road to the seaboard.

In 1758, when General Forbes began the organization of

his expedition against Fort Du Quesne, with his headquarters at Philadelphia, the question of roads and the line by which he should march his army presented itself as a most important one. The road opened by Colonel James Burd, in 1755, as far as Raes Town, and indeed the top of the Alleghany mountains, was serviceable. General Forbes's quartermaster general, Sir John St. Clair, on whom he had to rely for supplies and who had served in the same capacity with General Braddock, was personally acquainted with the difficulties to be encountered upon any road crossing the mountains. He, with Colonel Bouquet, was General Forbes's adviser.

Unaccountable delay attended the beginning of the advance of the Forbes army.

By great assiduity, on Friday, 30th of June, the General got the last division of his forces out of Philadelphia. Forbes himself set out the same day for Carlisle, where he arrived July 4th.*

Estimates of the strength of General Forbes's army vary. A summary of the forces in the expedition is given as follows in Mante's "History of the late war in North America," page 155:

Royal Americans.....	350
Montgomery's Highlanders.....	200
Virginia Provincials.....	1,600
Pennsylvania Provincials and Lower Counties.....	2,700
Maryland.....	350
Wagoners, &c.....	1,000
Total.....	7,200

A part of General Forbes's troops, under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet,† had already been advanced to Car-

* See letter to Colonel Bouquet, July 6, 1758, and *American Magazine of History*, June, 1758, page 460.

† Colonel Henry Bouquet, the first in command under General Forbes in the expedition against the French at the head of the Ohio in 1758, was born in Rolle, Switzerland, in 1719, and died in Pensacola, Florida, in February, 1766. His taste led him into a military life. He first entered the Dutch service and afterward that of Sardinia, and in 1748 was again

lisle, as may be seen by a letter, bearing date Lancaster, May 28, 1758, from Edward Shippen to his son, Major Joseph Shippen, at Philadelphia, in which he mentions that he was "engaged to send off at six o'clock a. m. of Tuesday morning 60 waggons to Col. Bouquet at Carlisle, which he shall be a little puzzled to do, as drivers are very scarce and saucy since the late enlistment" (Provincial History of Pennsylvania, page 123). Colonel Bouquet, with his Royal Americans, was at Raes Town June 30; the Highlanders, early in July, as was the First and Second battalions of Pennsylvanians.

General Forbes, it is to be remembered, was taken seriously ill with camp dysentery at Carlisle early in July and was rarely or never after able to ride on horseback. His movement with the army was upon a litter fastened to poles suspended at the sides of horses, one walking behind the other, as in shafts, the General's litter being placed upon the poles

in the service of Holland as lieutenant colonel of Swiss guards. He entered the English army with the same rank in 1756, and became colonel of the Sixtieth foot 19th February, 1762, and brigadier general in 1765. Secretary William Pitt, in planning the campaign of 1758 against the French in North America, assigned Bouquet's troops, the Royal Americans, then in South Carolina, as was also Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders, to place themselves under General Forbes at Philadelphia. These were the regulars upon whom General Forbes relied. They arrived at Philadelphia early in June, 1758. Bouquet was a man of courage and a soldier of ability, with the large amount of self-conceit and dogmatism so common to British officers. His devotion to duty minimized these limitations in his character as a soldier. It was chiefly through his influence that the new road from Raes Town was opened and the Braddock road ignored, though recommended by Washington, the delay in the making of which came so near defeating the purposes of the expedition under Forbes. (See the Washington-Bouquet letters.) On October 12, 1758, his forces were attacked by the French and Indians at Loyal Han-non, but the latter were repulsed. In 1763 he, with a force of 500 men, Highlanders and Provincials, made a brave and successful defense in an attempt by Indians to surprise him at Bushy run, a tributary of Turtle creek. In this engagement he lost 8 officers and 115 men. He also led an expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764. An admirable account of this expedition was published by the Rev. William Smith, of Philadelphia, in 1765.

between the horses. A detail of soldiers marched by his side to steady the General's couch. General Forbes was himself a trained and experienced soldier, of a reserved and suspicious temperament, with a strong bent toward diplomacy. He had capable officers under him, who gave their attention to all the details of equipment and to drilling the provincial forces of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina as they arrived in camp and were assigned to duty. Henry Bouquet, the second officer in command, held a British commission of colonel and had command of the Royal Americans. Colonel Archibald Montgomery, also a British officer, was in command of the regiment of Highlanders, reported 1,200 strong; but with all their zeal and ability it is probable they were at first deficient in a knowledge of the best methods of Indian fighting. Colonel Bouquet later acquired fame in this line. It is doubtless true that the General's illness limited the attention he was able to give to details and to the measures essential to the speedy and efficient equipment of the expedition. He was never able to examine personally either the Braddock road or the line proposed for the new one across the mountains, which was opened on the recommendation of Bouquet, by his order, from Raes Town to Fort Du Quesne. Any knowledge that either General Forbes or Colonel Bouquet had of the time it would require and the labor and expense of opening this road was based upon reports of limited, if not partial and hasty, examinations. The question of the merits of the two routes was much discussed in the larger towns of the provinces, in the army, by Indian traders, and by commercial men. Naturally, General Forbes had to defer much to Colonel Bouquet on the road question and the minutiae of the details of supplies and outfits. It is inferred that Sir John St. Clair recanted his early opinions, and that Colonel Bouquet's hasty reconnoitering of the ground forced the opening of the new road. General Forbes in a letter to Colonel Bouquet, June 19, 1758, on being informed of the opening of a road from Fort Frederick, Maryland, to Fort

Cumberland, says he "regrets the change of route." He meant from the one by Raes Town and Loyal Hannon. Colonel Bouquet, with a part of his Royal Americans, a part of the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, and six companies of the Virginians, reached Raes Town on the 24th of June from Fort Littleton (see Bouquet's *Orderly Book*). He was then upon the ground to consider the question of roads. Smallpox appeared among the troops at Fort Loudoun in the early part of June (see Bouquet's letter to Forbes, 14 June, 1758).

General Forbes in his letter to Bouquet of June 19, 1758, says, "I am glad you have proceeded to Raes Town, where you will be able to judge of the roads and act accordingly," and in another paragraph of the same letter he says, "I suppose you will reconnoiter the road across the Alleghany mountains from Raes Town, and if found impracticable that the Fort Cumberland garrison should open the old road forward towards the crossing of the Yohagani." A very considerable and able correspondence in relation to the merits of the routes by which the army could most advantageously and expeditiously march to the head of the Ohio was carried on between Colonel Bouquet and Colonel Washington. The latter rested his arguments in favor of the Braddock road chiefly upon the fact that the Braddock road was already made and its use would expedite the march from two to three months, and that it was but thirty miles or two days march from Raes Town. To open a new road would cost the labor of two thousand men for nearly three months, be a disagreeable employment and exhausting to the soldiers; but neither the labor nor the delay seems to have had much consideration from either General Forbes or Colonel Bouquet. A convincing reason for the opening of the new road is nowhere expressed by either. This correspondence between Bouquet and Washington may be seen in the "*Writings of Washington*" by Sparks.

A new road was determined upon from Bedford and work upon it authorized by General Forbes (see letter to Bouquet,

July 23, 1758), and a commencement made a few days after. On the 23d of August, 1758, Colonel James Burd, of the Pennsylvania troops, who had been in charge of the work on the road begun by the governor of Pennsylvania in 1755, was assigned to duty in supervising the opening of the Forbes road under orders from Colonel Bouquet. Numerous favorable reports were made to Colonel Bouquet by Indian traders, scouting parties, and special agents, whom he sent out, as to the character of the country to be traversed, the easy grades through openings in the mountains, and the abundance of grass and pasturage for the cattle and horses along the route. Colonel John Armstrong, who was quite familiar with the mountain regions of Pennsylvania and who was an ardent advocate for opening a new road, was, with a portion of his regiment, sent forward, pack-horses carrying their provisions, to Edmunds's swamp and Stony creek to build breastworks and to work to the east in opening the road to meet other parties working toward the west. Colonel Adam Stephen, of the Virginia troops, was also sent forward on the same duty, to work toward parties working to the west. This was done to hasten the work of opening the road. The following map is found among the Bouquet papers preserved in the British Museum, a copy of which is deposited in the Canadian archives. (See William Kingsford's *History of Canada*, vol. iv, page 197.)

This map was evidently made with an imperfect knowledge of the country it claims to represent. The openings in the Alleghany mountains which it shows are purely imaginary, and the great depression in the Laurel Hill mountain is largely fancy. Still it is a record of the time and the kind of information the General was supplied with and obliged to act upon. The map also shows the line of Braddock's road, the road from Fort Cumberland to Bedford, and the proposed cross-road in a northeasterly direction from the Braddock road at the crossing of Salt Lick creek, now known as Sewickly creek, to the Forbes road at a point some miles east of Greensburg, in the vicinity of Latrobe. At the crossing of

of country and embracing the same military operations, but drawn with greater care and a better knowledge of the country, may be seen in Sparks's "Life and Writings of Washington," vol. 11, page 38.

Just before General Forbes arrived at Raes Town a considerable reconnoitering party was fitted out from Loyal Hannon by Colonel Bouquet to gain intelligence of the condition of the French fort and their strength at that post. A force consisting of 850 men, drawn from the different regiments then at Loyal Hannon, was placed under the command of Major Grant,* of the Highlanders, for this special

* Major Grant, afterward known as General Grant, of the British army, was born in Scotland in 1719. He entered the army as ensign in 1741, and became captain of the First Royal Scots October 24, 1744. In 1747 he was appointed by General James St. Clair ambassador to the courts of Vienna and Turin. He subsequently served in the war of the Netherlands.

In January, 1757, he was commissioned major in the new Seventy-seventh regiment, first battalion, generally known as the Archibald-Montgomery's Highlanders. These troops were ordered to America in 1757. They first landed at Halifax in August, and were then ordered, with a portion of the Royal Americans under Colonel Henry Bouquet, to South Carolina, where they arrived 29th September. It was apprehended at the time that the French were about to make an attack upon that coast. When General Forbes was given the command of the southern department and organized the expedition against Fort Du Quesne these troops were placed under his command, and they arrived at Philadelphia in the early part of June, 1758, and encamping near the new barracks, were there reviewed by General Forbes. Major Grant's forces were actively engaged under Bouquet in opening the new road from Raes Town, now Bedford, to Ligonier. He was indulged at his own request by Bouquet to be promoted to lead a strong force to reconnoiter the French fort. He became possessed with the idea that he could lead the French and Indians into an ambuscade; but he was himself surprised and defeated with the loss of more than a third of his party killed, wounded, and missing. Major Grant, Major Lewis, and eighteen other officers were taken prisoner. During the remainder of the expedition he seems to have kept very quiet. In 1760 he was made lieutenant colonel in the Fortieth foot, and shortly after was made governor of East Florida. The following year he was sent by General Amherst, with a force of 1,300 regulars, against the Cherokee Indians in South Carolina. In 1773 he was sent to Parliament. In 1775 he was appointed colonel of the Fifty-fifth foot, and in 1776 was ordered to America to reinforce General Howe. He commanded two

service. In his zeal and hoping to capture the fort with his party, Major Grant exceeded his instructions and attacked the French on the 14th of September, but was defeated with the loss of one-third of his forces, and was himself taken prisoner, as was also Captain Lewis and about 40 men. General Forbes said of this affair that "Major Grant had lost his wits."

It was chiefly through the courage and good conduct of Captain Bullet, of Virginia, that Grant's defeat was prevented from being as disastrous as that of General Braddock's in 1755.

General Forbes reached Raes Town on the 15th of September, and was promptly waited upon by all the officers apprised of his coming, among whom was Colonel Washington, who returned to Fort Cumberland for his regiment the next day, and immediately marched them to Raes Town. Colonel Washington had been stationed with the First Virginia troops awaiting orders at Fort Cumberland, where he arrived from Winchester on the 2d of July. Colonel Burd, with the Second Virginia regiment, arrived at Fort Cumberland on the 8th of July. Quite half the men of both regiments had, however, been sent forward in June and were assisting in the building of the new road; but the remainder of the Virginia troops were all brought up to Raes Town directly after General Forbes arrived there. At Fort Cumberland the Virginia officers continued the training of their men and gave attention, under orders from Colonel Bouquet, to making a road between Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick, in Maryland, and between Fort Cumberland and Raes Town, and also to repairing the eastern end of the Braddock road. Indeed, it was understood in army circles that Colonel

brigades at the battle of Long Island, and a similar force at Germantown and at Brandywine. In May, 1778, he was sent to cut off Lafayette, but was unsuccessful, and in December of this year he was sent from New York to the West Indies and assisted in capturing St. Lucia. He was made a major general in 1777, lieutenant general in 1784, and general in 1796. He came into the possession of a large landed estate in Scotland, and died, without children, April 13, 1806.

Washington was to march an independent division by the Braddock road coincident with the movement of Forbes's army by the main road. This plan was advised against by Colonel Washington as unwise, to divide their forces in a country infested by the enemy. Indeed, this may never have been seriously entertained by General Forbes, or, if so, the plan was changed. Washington's *Orderly Book*, already referred to, opens at Raes Town September 21st. General Forbes was then there and in command and remained at this camp for some weeks, perfecting his arrangements for the march of the rear division of his army to Loyal Hannon. These troops were moved in detachments. The General began his march on the 26th of October, making his first encampment at Shawnee Cabins, eight miles from Bedford, and his second camp was at Fort Dward. Reading between the lines, it is not difficult to see that General Forbes, after a short personal acquaintance with Colonel Washington as an officer in the same camp, conceived a higher regard for his intelligence, manly deportment, soldierly qualities, and ability to manage and encourage soldiers in the discharge of their duty than he had formerly entertained. At an early period in the expedition, and particularly during the discussion of the road question, when the Virginia Colonel's opinions reached General Forbes only through others, he wrote some sharp criticisms upon Washington's views; but General Forbes, it appears, neither consulted him in person nor by letter, and only became acquainted with Washington's views through Bouquet and St. Clair.

After they met, however, there was never a word other than of confidence and admiration. The Virginia troops in their proficiency of drill were next to the regulars, and as woodsmen had no equals in the expedition. Washington was known and everywhere spoken of as the foremost military man of his time in the colonies.

There is some ground for believing that both General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet, from hearing such universal praise of Colonel Washington and his genius in military

affairs, were not only a little envious but somewhat jealous of the man, and wished to minimize his influence in the planning of the expedition to the Ohio; but all this was changed and forgotten as time went on, and each officer's opinions were better canvassed and their conduct and efficiency contrasted as the campaign came to a fortunate conclusion, which more emphatically demonstrated the weakness of the French than the genius of Forbes and Bouquet.

Colonel Washington was known to neglect no detail of outfit, supply, or executive supervision of his regiment, no requirements for the safety and efficiency of the service. General Forbes, in selecting him to command one of the three brigades, had to pass over Colonel John Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, who had won renown in that province as an Indian fighter by his capture of Kittanning in 1756. He had had the ear of the General for several months, was popular also with the people, and the legislature had voted him a medal and a service of silver. This preferment for Colonel Washington caused less friction with the Pennsylvania troops than might have been expected. They, too, on a better acquaintance with Colonel Washington, soon came to admire him and his methods more than any other commander in the field.

Colonel Washington, with that portion of his regiment under his immediate command, remained in camp at Raes Town, where he was in daily intercourse with General Forbes for a month before he was ordered to Loyal Hammon, so that he did not arrive at that place until after the attack by N. de Vetri was made upon the camp and the fort with an estimated force of 1,200 French and 200 Indians. Colonel Bouquet was absent at the time at Fort Dudgeon, on Laurel Hill, viewing and opening a new road, so that Colonel James Burd was in command. He and his men acquitted themselves nobly, repelling all assaults. The enemy's forces were quite as large as that under Colonel Burd. The attack was renewed at night, but a few discharges of the cohorns silenced them. The loss to the English was reported as 62 men and 5 officers killed and missing. The French were busy all

night in carrying off their dead and wounded. This with the loss of some cattle and horses was all the injury inflicted. The engagement was an expiring effort on the part of the French, for they could no longer provision their forces or keep the Indians at Fort Du Quesne. The repulse was therefore more disheartening to the French and more important in its results to the Forbes expedition than has generally been recognized. General Forbes arrived at Loyal Hannon on the 2d of November (see *Orderly Book*). Colonel Washington finally received orders to march, left Raes Town on the 14th of October and arrived at Loyal Hannon on the 23d of the same month. On the 25th of October he sat as president of a court-martial at Fort Loyal Hannon for the trial of Lieutenant Laughry, of the First Battalion of Pennsylvania. This was probably the first English court, civil or military, that ever sat in western Pennsylvania or in the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi. The court consisted of Colonel Washington, president; Colonel Armstrong, Colonel Burd, Lieutenant Dagworthy, Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd, Major Waddall, Major Jameson; deputy judge advocate, Lieutenant Thompson.

When the court sat the season was so far advanced that the leaves were falling and the mountain tops capped with snow. When the General reached Loyal Hannon he saw for himself the character of roads across the mountains and the difficulty of bringing up supplies for men and horses, and began to despair of being able to reach Fort Du Quesne, owing to the lateness of the season and the difficulties with which he had to contend. A good stockade fort, storehouses, and a hospital had already been erected for the security of the stores and the comfort of the men. On the 11th of November General Forbes held a council of war, at which all the officers down to and including colonels were present, and the question put to each was whether it was proper and safe for the army to march farther this season. Each officer's opinion was reduced to writing. The final judgment was that it was

inexpedient, owing to the lateness and inclemency of the season, to attempt to proceed farther under the then existing conditions of the army. Two days after this determination was reached Washington was out on scouting duty, and discovering a party of the enemy, immediately attacked them, killing some and taking three prisoners, an Indian man and woman and an Englishman. The latter had been taken prisoner from Lancaster county more than a year before. The taking of these prisoners proved the turning point which won success to the Forbes expedition, for when they were taken to camp and there carefully questioned it was learned to the satisfaction of the General and all the officers that Fort du Quesne was very weak in numbers and in an indefensible condition; so that the determination of the council of war held on the 11th was by unanimous consent reversed, and General Forbes determined to proceed at once and without tents, with light baggage, and with but little artillery. This resolve greatly inspirited the army. Washington had, early in the campaign, requested to have his regiment placed among those in front, urging that he himself was familiar with the woods and his regiment was well trained to Indian fighting. General Forbes, having determined upon an advance, selected about two thousand five hundred (2,500) of the most capable men. These he formed into three divisions, placing each under a brigadier general, assigning the center to Brigadier General Montgomery, the right to Brigadier General Washington, and the left to Brigadier General Bouquet. From this time forward Washington was recognized as the commander of a brigade and was reported to as such. On the 15th of November Brigadier General Washington's command, as the advance division, set out from Fort Ligonier. His labors were great in opening roads, establishing camps, sending out scouting parties, and reporting frequently during the day and night to General Forbes. The troops, however, encountered no enemy in force after leaving Loyal Hannon.

J. M. Toner—Washington in Forbes Expedition of 1758 19

The following is a transcript from Washington's Orderly Book :

CAMP AT LOYAL HANNON, November 12, 1758.

After Orders—

1 Col., 1 Lieut., 1 Major, 5 Captains, 16 Subs., 20 Sergeants, 2 Corp., and 450 Privates. Men to march tomorrow morning at reveille beating to the ground where the skirmish was this evening and to carry a proportion of spades in order to inter the Dead bodies.

This has reference to the burial of those killed in the skirmish on the evening of the 12th.

Colonel Washington's plan for marching an army through a wooded country was, as we see, adopted in the main as the order of march from Loyal Hannon, where the forces were brigaded by the following order :

CAMP AT LOYAL HANNON, Novr. 14th 1758

Parole Barbadoes

Field Officer for tomorrow Majr. Jameson

Whereas the circumstances of the times require that a Disposition be immediately made of the troops under Brigadier Gen'l Forbes Command^r. the army is to be divided into three Bodys and to be Commanded by Col. Bouquet, Montgomery and Washington who is to act as Brigadiers receiving all Reports & giving orders &c Regarding their respective divisions or Brigades the Right Wing to be Commanded by Col. Washington to Consist of the 1st Virginia Regim^t. two Companies of Artificers, N. Carolinians, Maryland^r and Lower County

The Senter to be commanded by Col^o. Montgomerie and to Consist of the Highlanders and 2d Virginia Regiment.

The left wing to be commanded by Col. Bouquet Consisting of the three Battallions of Pennsylvanians and Royall Americaus the Reserve to be commanded by — to Consist of 200 Highlanders 200 of the 2d V. Regim^t. & 200 of the Pensilvanians in the Mean time the Virginians to be under the Command of Brigadier Washington.

The Highlanders under the Command of Brigadier Montgomerie, and the Pensilva^t. under the Command of Col^o. Bouquet the first Division to March tomorrow Morning and to draw 8 Days provisions and meat for 4 Days driving Cattle with them to Compleat them with y^e Rest

The 2d Division to March with the field Train of Artillery at one oClock with the same Q^t. of Provisions, and the third Division to be Comple^d. tomorrow with the same number of Days as the former,

The Mens Tents are to be left in Store and properly Rowld up with their Marks as likewise half the Remainder of Camp Kettles The Ammunition & 3 Spare flints are carefully to be examined and Completed—

The falling Axes being Immediately wanted to open the Roads they

are this Afternoon to be given to L^t. Lyons at the Store who will return the Receipt—

The Commanding Officers of Corps to send to Capt. Hays such a Number of Cartridges as will only Compleat their Corps with 44 Rounds Pr. Man besides the 36 Rounds which they carry and each Corps to mark their Ammunition so that no mistake may happen in the Issuing of it. they are to send their Ammunition to Mr. Everard to the Artillery park who will Receive it and Load into Waggon's immediately—

After Orders

the Mens tents to be left pitched & a proportion of each Corps to Guard them

All the Horses belonging to the King that were delivered to the Troops are to be returned tomorrow Morning and the Genl. will make a Distribution of them amongst the Troops in the proportion of 2 to 100 Men—

B. O. the Troops that March tomorrow morning are to be Completed tonight agreeable to the Gen^l. orders of this day and everything in readiness to March at 8 O'Clock in the morning at farthest

The Commanding Officer of each Corps of that Division that Marches is to carry only such Men as he can most depend on, a Return of which is to be given to Maj^r. Stewart this night—Such of those Men as are pitched on to March tomorrow morning that are now on Guard are immediately to be Relieved by those that Stay.

Each division assisted in opening the road and marched with the greatest caution to avoid surprises, keeping out scouts and flanking parties, but they met with no organized companies of the enemy. Their advanced camp on the evening of the 24th was about ten miles from Fort Du Quesne. Here they learned from scouts that a dense smoke had been observed at the fort, and shortly after other scouts reported that the fort had been blown up and the garrison and adjacent houses burnt. A troop of light horse was sent forward to make discovery, and, if possible, extinguish the fire and save as much of the fort or buildings in the vicinity as might be practicable. The report of the abandonment of the fort by the French was confirmed. On the evening of the 25th, General Forbes, preceded by Washington's, Bouquet's, and Montgomery's brigade, arrived and took possession of Fort Du Quesne. About thirty stacks of chimneys still stood, showing where houses had been burnt. The fort had been mined and blown up. The destruction was not very complete, as powder and ammunition to the extent of some thirty

barrels remained uninjured. Men and money directed by Anglo-Saxon genius had triumphed. The territory was henceforth to be occupied and governed by an English-speaking people.

It is deserving of mention, in passing, that there were four several occasions in which Washington's life was placed in great jeopardy, all of which occurred at or near Pittsburg and each while signalizing his devotion to the reclamation of the West. The first was when Washington was deliberately shot at by a treacherous Indian when returning from Fort Le Bœuf in company with Christopher Gist. This Indian, on their return march, had joined them without solicitation, the day before they reached the Allegheny river, mentioned in his published journal. The second occurred in crossing the Allegheny river in the dusk of the evening, in midwinter, on a frail raft, when the stream was swollen and rendered additionally dangerous by floating ice. The crossing was made some three miles above the city of Pittsburg. On this perilous passage Washington was accidentally thrown from the raft into deep water, and only because he was a good swimmer and through the aid of Mr Gist was he enabled to regain his position; but the ice forced them to make for a small island in the vicinity of the present United States arsenal, where they were obliged to remain all night. From this circumstance the island (Wainwright's) is often called "Washington island." By morning the ice had frozen strong enough to bear them and they were enabled to cross on it to the left bank of the river and pursue their journey. The third was in the battle of the Monongahela, known in history as Braddock's defeat, where he had two horses shot under him and his coat pierced by four bullets. The fourth was in the skirmish with the enemy at Loyal Hannon, referred to, where he took the three prisoners whose testimony led to an advance of the army and a successful ending of the Forbes expedition. General Washington gave an account of this affair to the Honorable William Findley, of western Pennsylvania. Mr Findley wrote out his recollections of

this recital, and the article is published in Niles's Register, vol. 14. Another account of the same incident is given in the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. xii. The incident occurred in this wise: The firing of Washington's troops upon the Indians on the 12th of November, when on scouting duty, was heard at camp; whereupon Colonel Mercer, by permission, marched immediately with a company of soldiers to render assistance. It was the dusk of evening, and Colonel Mercer seeing the Indian prisoners in front of Colonel Washington's force, supposed the whole party to be enemies and fired upon them. Washington, too, was at first under the impression that Colonel Mercer's party were enemies, so that several volleys were exchanged before the error was discovered or the firing could be arrested. Washington was between the forces, and, discovering the condition of affairs, ran forward, gesticulating and calling upon them to cease firing upon their friends. This Washington considered the occasion when his life had been placed in the greatest danger that he could recall. One officer and 15 or 16 of the Virginia soldiers were killed.

The French and their Indian allies, after destroying Fort Du Quesne and burning the buildings around it, fled by water, part of the force going up the Allegheny and the remainder down the Ohio. Their heavy guns were removed from the fort, and it was at first supposed they had been buried or thrown into the river, but they were, I believe, never discovered, so it is presumed that they were taken on boats down the Ohio to other French posts.

The British flag was hoisted November 25, 1758, and the place named "Pittsburg," in honor of the great British Minister of State, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, always a staunch friend of the colonies. A palisade fort and garrison was at once constructed to shelter and protect the soldiers. A treaty of peace was concluded with such Indians as could be assembled in council. This effected, the Regular troops were sent back to the settlements to go into comfortable winter quarters, as General Forbes had no authority to gar-

rison fortifications with the Regulars. The command of the post at Pittsburg was given to Colonel Hugh Mercer, with 200 Virginians and some Pennsylvania and Maryland troops.

The presumption at the time that the territory around the head of the Ohio was within the dominion of Virginia may have determined the selection of troops for the purpose of garrisoning this post. After attending to all necessary affairs, securing as great a degree of comfort for the garrison as possible under the circumstances, and assuring as orderly a management of the post as practicable, General Forbes ordered the Regular and the Provincial troops not actually required back to Ligonier to meet their provisions (see General Forbes's letter to governor of Pennsylvania, November 26, 1758). The General himself, on his litter, commenced his weary return trip to Philadelphia December 4 (see his letter from Bouquet's camp, December 4, 1758). He rested a few days at Ligonier and a longer time at Raes Town. The Regulars and the Provincials passed through Bedford in the latter part of December. General Forbes now gave the name "Fort Ligonier" to the works at Loyal Hannon, and "Fort Bedford" to the works at Raes Town, as he had given the name "Pittsburg" to the post and camp at the head of the Ohio. He arrived at Philadelphia on the 14th of January, 1759. The citizens welcomed him by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and by manifesting in every way possible their appreciation of the success of the expedition under his command. General Forbes had asked of General Amherst a temporary leave from his command that he might devote himself to the recovery of his shattered health; but unfortunately the disease with which he was afflicted had exhausted his strength and had become incurable. He died March 10, 1759. His remains were interred in the church yard at Fifth and Arch streets, in Philadelphia. No monument marks the place of his burial. An avenue in the greater Pittsburg bears his name.

Brigadier General Washington on his return stopped a short while at Fort Ligonier and there wrote a circular letter

to the frontier inhabitants of Virginia, requesting them to send out to Pittsburg provisions to sustain that garrison. He described the scarcity of provisions for soldiers as well as of provender for horses, declared the road to be comparatively safe, and promised it should be kept open for trade, etc. (See Washington's letter of December 2, 1758.)

Colonel Washington directed the Virginia troops not assigned to duty at Pittsburg and Fort Ligonier to march to Winchester and there to rest, recruit, and await orders. He himself proceeded by a more rapid movement to Winchester and Mount Vernon. The driving of the French from the head of the Ohio had long been a favorite project with Washington, to which he had looked forward with great confidence, believing it would be accomplished by even a shorter campaign than the one so auspiciously ended.

It had been given out, and was generally understood among his friends, that upon the fulfillment of the purposes of the campaign he would retire from the army, which he did after settling all his accounts with the Government. He rested a short time at Mount Vernon and at his mother's, en route to Williamsburg, to settle the affairs of his regiment and to attend, as a member, the session of the House of Burgesses, to which he had been elected. He resigned his commission as commander of the Virginia troops on the 27th of December, 1758. The following flattering address of his officers was sent to him :

To George Washington Esq^r. Coll^o. of the Virginia Regiment & Commander of all the Virginia Forces—

The humble Address of the Officers of the Virginia Regiment.

SIR.

We, your most obedient and affectionate Officers, beg Leave to express our great Concern, at the disagreeable News we have received of your Determination to resign the Command of that Corps, in which we have under you long served.

The Happiness we have enjoyed, and the Honor we have acquired together, with the mutual Regard that has always subsisted between you and your Officers, have implanted so sensible an Affection in the Minds of us all, that we cannot be silent on this critical Occasion.

In our earliest Infancy you took us under your Tuition, trained us up in the Practice of that Discipline, which alone can constitute good troops, from the punctual Observance of which you never suffered the least Deviation.

Your steady adherence to impartial Justice, your quick Discernment, and invariable Regard to Merit, wisely intended to inculcate those genuine Sentiments of true Honor and Passion for Glory, from which the greatest military achievements have been derived, first heightened our natural Emulation, and our Desire to excel. How much we improved by those Regulations and your own example, with what Alacrity we have hitherto discharged our Duty, with what Cheerfulness we have encounter'd the severest Toils, especially while under your particular Directions, we submit to yourself, and flatter ourselves that we have in a great Measure answer'd your Expectations.

Judge, then, how sensibly we must be Affected with the loss of such an excellent Commander, such a sincere Friend, and so affable a Companion. How rare is it to find these amiable Qualifications blended together in one Man? How great the loss of such a Man? Adieu to that Superiority, which the Enemy have granted us over other Troops, and which even the Regulars and Provincials have done us the Honor publicly to acknowledge! Adieu to that strict Discipline and order, which you have always maintain'd! Adieu to that happy Union and Harmony, which have been our principal Cement!

It gives us additional Sorrow, when we reflect, to find our unhappy Country will receive a loss no less irreparable than ourselves. Where will it meet a Man so experienced in military Affairs? One so renowned for Patriotism, Conduct, and Courage? Who has so great a Knowledge of the Enemy we have to deal with? Who so well acquainted with their Situation & Strength? Who so much respected by the Soldiery? Who in short so able to support the military Character of Virginia?

Your approv'd love to your King and Country, and your uncommon Perseverance in promoting the Honor and true Interest of the Service, convince us that the most cogent Reasons only could induce you to quit it, yet we with the greatest Deference, presume to entreat you to suspend those Thoughts for another Year, and to lead us on to assist in the Glorious work of extirpating our Enemies, towards which so considerable Advances have been already made. In you we place the most implicit Confidence. Your Presence only will cause a steady Firmness and Vigor to actuate every Breast, despising the greatest Dangers, and thinking light of Toils and Hardships while led on by the Man we know and Love. But if we must be so unhappy as to part, if the Exigencies of your Affairs force you to abandon Us, we beg it as our last Request, that you will recommend some Person most capable to command, whose Military Knowledge, whose Honor, whose Conduct, and whose disinterested Principles, we may depend on.

Frankness, Sincerity, and a certain Openness of Soul, are the true

Characteristics of an Officer, and we flatter ourselves that you do not think us capable of saying any thing contrary to the purest Dictates of our Minds. Fully persuaded of this, we beg leave to assure you, that, as you have hitherto been the actuating Soul of the whole Corps, we shall at all times pay the most invariable Regard to your Will and Pleasure, and will always be happy to demonstrate by our Actions, with how much Respect and Esteem we are,

Sir,

Your most affectionate

& most obed^t. humble Servants

Fort Loudoun

Dec^r. 31st. 1758.

G ^o . WEEDON	ROBERT STEWART
HENRY RUSSELL	JOHN McNEILL
JN ^o . LAWSON	H. WOODWARD
GE ^o . SPEAK	ROB ^t . McKENZIE
W ^m . WOODFORD	THO ^o . BULLITT
JOHN McCULLY	JOHN BLAGG
JOHN SALLARD	NATHA ^l . GIST
W. HUGHES	MORD ^l . BUCKNER
WALT CUNNINGHAM	W ^m . DANGERFIELD
WILLIAM COCKE	W ^m . FLEMING
DAVID KENNEDY	LEONARD PRICE
JA ^s . CRAIK, <i>Surgeon</i>	NATH ^l . THOMPSON
JAMES DUNCANSON	CH ^s . SMITH
JA ^s . ROY	

On the 6th of January, 1759, George Washington was married at the White House, on the Pamunky river, New Kent county, Virginia, to Martha Custis, *née* Dandridge, widow of John Parke Custis. This proved a fortunate and happy alliance. After attending the session of the Assembly to its close, he brought his wife to his loved home, Mount Vernon, on the Potomac.

Just before his death General Forbes conceived the idea of having a gold medal struck to commemorate the achievements of the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, to be worn by the officers who took part in the campaign of 1758. (See letter of General Grant to Colonel Bouquet, 20th of February, 1759.)

The medal is described by him as follows:

It has on one side the representation of a road cut through an immense (sic) forest, over rocks and mountains and the motto "*Per tot discrimina;*" on the other side are represented the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers, a fort in flames in the forks of the river at the approach of General Forbes, carried in a litter, followed with the army marching in columns with cannon. The motto "*Ohio Britannica Concillo Monique.*" This is to be worn around the neck with a dark blue ribbon.

By the General's Command,

JAMES GRANT,

Lieut. in His Majesty's 62d Reg't, H. B.

N. B.—General Forbes is of the opinion that such of our officers as choose to provide themselves with the above medal should have a copy of this letter, signed and attested by you, as a warrant for their wearing it—J. G.

Fort Du Quesne, or now Pittsburg, the 26 Nov^r. 1758.

SIR:

I have the Pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and abandon their Fort Du quesne which they effectuated upon the 24th Instant, And of which I took possession with my little Army the next Day,—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Majesty's Most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this publick event of having totally expelled the French from this Fort and this prodigious Tract of Country, and of having in a manner reconciled the various Tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the Hardships and Difficulties that we necessarily met with; all that will soon come out, but I assure you, after receiving the Ground & Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

As the Conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces, by securing the Indians, our real Friends, for their advantage, I have therefore sent for their Head People to come to me, when I think in few Words and few Days to make everything easy; I shall then set out to kiss your Hands, if I have Strength enough left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about Two Hundred Men of your Provincial Troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders in order to protect this Country during Winter, by which Time I hope the Provinces

12374.4-5

(Baker)

RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Volume 1, pages 215-224

THE BOUNDARY MONUMENTS

OF THE

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

BY

MARCUS BAKER

WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MAY, 1897



WEST CORNER



NORTH CORNER



SOUTH CORNER

The flag at head of steps is over the corner stone



EAST CORNER

THE FOUR CORNER STONES OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

1897

THE BOUNDARY MONUMENTS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

BY

MARCUS BAKER

The earliest landmarks of the District of Columbia are the stone monuments which mark its boundaries. Of these there were forty originally, all located and erected in 1791 and 1792. Washingtonians who have gone afield in the suburbs may perchance have somewhere come across an old monument bearing an inscription of which JURISDICTION was the most prominent word. Those who have done so have looked upon one of our most venerable monuments; and yet it is not very venerable, at least for a monument, being but a trifle more than a century old. But no monument or landmark of the District of Columbia can be older than the District itself, whose creation was authorized in July, 1790. Whatsoever landmarks there are in it of earlier date than this belong not to the District as such, but to Maryland and Virginia. After the protracted debate over the location of the seat of government of the very young United States was ended and selection made of a tract not to exceed ten miles square on the banks of the Potomac, the next step was to locate the tract and survey and mark its boundaries. This was done in 1791 and 1792 by Major Andrew Ellicott. Since this first survey in 1791 many surveys have been made in the District and many thousands of dollars spent thereon. None of them, however, have or can have the peculiar interest which attaches to the *first* one.

Pursuit of knowledge of the beginnings of those things which grow into importance in human affairs is the delight of the antiquary, while the story he is able to weave from the fragments collected is a source of pleasure to many, and especially to those whose interest draws them into an Historical Society. I do not know that any detailed account of the surveying and marking of our boundaries was ever written. Scraps of information I have met with here and there, but only scraps. The field-notes of the survey, where are they? Have they been destroyed? If not, who has them, and ought they not to be discovered and published?

I have spoken of scraps of information about these monuments. Most of the information I have concerning them is derived from an inspection of the monuments themselves. In the summer afternoons of 1894 I spent many delightful hours between four o'clock and sundown in looking them up. Each one contains an item of information recorded upon it, and recorded nowhere else, so far as I know. Major Elliott, who made the survey, was interested in the *variation of the compass*, or magnetic declination, as we now call it. To his intelligent interest we are doubtless indebted for our earliest knowledge of the magnetic declination in the District of Columbia. On every monument was carved the *variation*, and he who would now make use of this valuable information—increasingly valuable with increasing years—must get it, at first hand, by a forty-mile tramp across the fields in the outskirts of Washington. I have now visited the site of every one of the forty stones originally planted, having but recently completed this inspection, and am therefore now prepared to report as to how these ancient landmarks have withstood the wear and tear of the first century of their existence.

It will be remembered that the original District of Columbia was a square, with each side cutting the meridians at an angle of 45° . Thus we have a N., E., S., and W. corner, and also a S. W., N. W., N. E., and S. E. side. Throughout the entire extent of our forty-mile boundary, stone posts were set

at every mile. Thus there are, or were originally, 40. These stones are of the same material as that used in the first public buildings of Washington, known as freestone, and came from Aquia creek, in Virginia. They are about four feet long, two feet being in the rough and in the ground, and two feet above ground. The part above is one foot square and two feet high, with beveled top, forming the frustum of a four-sided pyramid. They were not dressed, but sawed out, as



BOUNDARY STONE S. E. 1

This monument is one mile S. E. from the E. corner of the District of Columbia

their surfaces show. Each of the four faces bears an inscription. The face fronting Virginia or Maryland bears the name VIRGINIA or MARYLAND respectively. The opposite face, however, does not bear the name District of Columbia, but in bold capitals the words JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES, for which reason I have heard these monuments spoken of as "*jurisdiction stones*." This peculiar and unusual inscription is interesting and suggestive. It throws strong light on the times and temper of those order-

ing the inscription. The colonies had but recently emerged from a prolonged and bitter struggle for freedom. Each new-fledged state was therefore jealous of the freedom so dearly bought and was loth to give up any of its jurisdiction to any person, natural or artificial. When, therefore, jurisdiction was actually ceded to the sovereign states but just united, exclusive jurisdiction was given to these *united* states with misgiving and reluctance and to the extent of "not to exceed ten miles square." When the survey began in 1791 this territory, over which the United States might exercise exclusive jurisdiction, was nameless; so was also the city to be created within it, which hitherto had been spoken of as the Federal City. But when, in the autumn of 1791, the survey approached or reached its end and a map or plat was to be made, the question arose as to the names. The three commissioners then formally resolved that it should be the *City of Washington*, in the *Territory of Columbia*. Possibly some of the stones were planted, or at least marked, before this conclusion was reached. However it may be, Columbia does not appear on any monument, but the more important fact is recorded that here, and here only, it may be added, the jurisdiction of the United States was at that time absolute and unqualified.

The survey was begun April 15, 1791, at the spot where the light-house on Jones point, near Alexandria, now stands. Here, on that day, with elaborate Masonic ceremonial and in the presence of a large concourse of citizens, chiefly from Alexandria, was the first boundary monument of the District of Columbia planted. But it is now invisible. When the light-house was built, in 1855, the foundation walls were laid around and over the stone, thus burying it from sight. A small cross on the brick steps in front of the south door of the light-house is pointed out by the light-house keeper as the spot beneath which sleeps this hidden and initial landmark.

After the completion of the boundary survey the line was cleared of trees to the width of 20 feet on each side of the

line. In this 40-foot lane through the woods stone posts were set at every mile. Those on the Virginia line bear the date 1791 ; all others 1792—*i. e.*, the 14 stones from the south point of the District N. W. to the W. corner, and thence N. E. to the Potomac, were set in 1791, while the remaining 26, to complete the whole boundary, were set in 1792. How large a tree may grow in Washington in a century may be judged from the size of those now standing within 20 feet of the old line. The distance of each stone from the preceding corner—*i. e.*, preceding as above described—is marked on the side which faces the District, as, for example, miles 7, miles 8, etc. When the surveyors found that an exact number of miles from a corner ended at a point in a swamp, stream bed, or other place ill suited for a monument, they measured forward or backward to firm or high ground, where they planted the monument. Thus, at the crossing of the Potomac on the N. W. line, the 3d and last monument on the Virginia side is 3 miles and 14 rods from the west corner, the inscription being “3 Miles & 14 P.,” this P. standing for poles, and reminding us of the table in our arithmetics where we learned that $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards or $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet make 1 rod, perch, or pole. In addition to these marks, the stones on the N. W. line from the Potomac to the north corner are numbered from 1 to 5. These numbers are on the Maryland face.

The present condition of these century-old monuments may be stated as follows: In very good condition, 3; good condition, 5; fair, 16; bad, 9; stumps in place, the whole top being broken off, 3; wholly lost and site unmarked, 2; in place but invisible, 2.

It is perhaps needless to refer to the importance of preserving original landmarks. Everybody recognizes the desirability of having boundaries clearly defined and permanently marked; but no marks, however permanent they are designed to be, will last forever. For noting the damage done them by the general agencies of decay as well as that resulting from malice or mischief, inspection must be made from time to time and the inspection must be in turn followed by repairs and

renewal when necessary, if permanency is to be secured. The results of the inspection here described make plain the need of renewal in some cases and of repairs in others. The closing years of the century seem an opportune time to draw the attention of the proper authorities to the matter, with a view to having this work done.

For future reference and for use in connection with repairs and renewals, should such be undertaken, I include with this general account, specific notes with respect to each stone. These notes are arranged from the field-notes, the first of which were made in June, 1894, and the last in 1897.

SOUTH CORNER.—This stone is said to be in place in the brick wall on the south side of the light-house at Jones point, near Alexandria. A cross cut on one of the bricks in the gateway immediately facing the main entrance to the light-house is said to be exactly over the stone.

S. W. 1.—This monument, slightly seamed, stands in the back yard of a place owned by Mr. Oscar Baggett, 1200 Wilke street, Alexandria, Virginia. It is erect, in fair condition, bears the date 1791, and the variation recorded upon it is $0^{\circ} 30'$ west.

S. W. 2.—Stood upon the north side of Shuter's hill, where in late years excavations have been made; not found, and it is thought that it is lost.

S. W. 3.—Stands erect in field on south side of road on the Cunningham place, on the northern rim of a small valley; is much battered, and the inscriptions only partially legible. It appears to have been planted at a point eighteen rods less than three miles from the south corner. The inscription "M302p" is supposed to mean two miles and 302 rods. The variation recorded upon it is east, but the amount is illegible. Its date is 1791.

S. W. 4.—Broken off at the ground and lost. The stump, plow scratched, is in place, standing in the field north of the road and about four feet from the fence.

S. W. 5.—Like the preceding, this is broken off near the ground and gone. The stump, slightly projecting, may be seen in a valley near the east bank of a creek on the north side of the road.

S. W. 6.—Standing erect on the eastern rim of a widish valley in a field recently cleared; is seamed and somewhat battered and chipped; is sixteen rods less than six miles from the south corner, the inscription being "Miles [?] 304 p." The variation is $0^{\circ} 2'$ east, the figures showing the minutes being illegible. The date is 1791.

S. W. 7.—Leaning and in bad condition. Bullet-battered and broken. Stands in an open, cleared field. The date cannot be read, the last figure being chipped off. The variation is east, but its amount uncertain. I think it is $0^{\circ} 05'$.

S. W. 8.—Lost. According to the statement of Mr Morgan Steeves, who has lived in Falls Church for 40 years, it stood near the road on the side of Throckmorton or Upton hill. It fell with a caving bank, lay for some time where it fell, and finally disappeared some 10 or 15 years ago.

S. W. 9.—This stone, slightly leaning and in fair condition, stands in an old meadow and is surrounded by brush. It is partially buried by washing. Its date is 1791 and the variation $1^{\circ} 0'$ east.

WEST CORNER.—This stone, about one mile north from Falls Church, stands in the edge of a grove north from Mrs De Putron's house. It is badly broken, but the broken piece was lying by it (October 25, 1896), and by putting it in place part of the inscription could be made out. The date is 1791 and the variation $2^{\circ} [?] 0'$ east. The number of minutes is uncertain, and may be 10, 20, 30, 40, or 50, or perhaps 00.

N. W. 1.—Standing erect in a grove, on land tenanted by a Mr Crimmins. Somewhat broken at the top. The date is gone. The variation is $1^{\circ} 0'$ east.

N. W. 2.—Standing erect in woods on the James Payne estate. Bad condition. The top is partially broken down and the pieces carried off to be used as whetstones. Date illegible. Variation $0^{\circ} 35'$ east.

N. W. 3.—Bad condition. Is in the woods. It is broken off below ground and the broken part lies some 20 or 30 feet from the base, which was long buried out of sight. It is said to have been broken down by an army wagon during the war. The variation is east, and its amount obscure. It appears to be $10'$. The date is 1791. When surveys were in progress in 1894 for developing the water power at Little falls, diligent search was made for this buried stump, which was found after much difficulty. It is the last stone on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and is three miles and fourteen rods from the west corner, the inscription being "3 Miles & 14 P." It should be replaced without delay.

N. W. 4.—All the monuments described up to this point no longer mark the boundary of the District of Columbia. They mark only the boundary between the counties of Alexandria and Fairfax, in Virginia, being on the Virginia side of the Potomac, in the region ceded back to Virginia in 1846. This and all the succeeding monuments mark the boundary of the District of Columbia as it now exists. This stone is four miles and 100 rods from the west corner, being marked "Miles 4 100 P." This increased distance, over four miles, was necessary to get the stone up on the high and firm bank of the Potomac. It stands erect in the woods, on land owned by the United States, and is in fair condition. The variation marked upon it is $0^{\circ} 3'$ west. The date is 1792. The old

cocking-main of ante-bellum days was near this and just outside the District of Columbia.

N. W. 5.—This stone, in fair condition, stands erect in the woods near the receiving reservoir and on the "government farm." In addition to the word Maryland, it bears the number one—*i. e.*, it marks the end of the first mile on the Maryland line. The variation marked upon it is $0^{\circ} 4(?)$ west.

N. W. 6.—This stone is about one mile west of Tenley, at the side of a road leading south from River road. It is in bad condition, being so much battered as to be in the main illegible. The variation is east, but its amount is illegible, as is also the date.

N. W. 7.—This stone is about one-fourth of a mile southwest from the Chevy Chase circle and stands erect, in good condition, in the low part of a meadow. The variation marked upon it is $0^{\circ} 59'$ east. The date is 1792. It bears the number 3 on the Maryland face—*i. e.*, is three miles from the Potomac.

N. W. 8.—This stone, standing erect, in fair condition, is in a growth of young timber where it is difficult to find without a guide. It is three-fourths of a mile northeast from the Chevy Chase circle. The variation marked upon it is $0^{\circ} 2(9?)$ east, the last figure being broken and uncertain. The date is 1792. It bears the number 4 on the Maryland face.

N. W. 9.—This stone, standing erect, in fair condition, is in thick woods on land of J. B. Brown, one of the Carroll heirs, and is near a stone quarry and at some distance from any public road. It is difficult to find without a guide. The variation recorded upon it is *east*, the amount apparently 2° , but it is so broken and chipped as to make the reading doubtful. It bears the number 5 on the Maryland face.

NORTH CORNER.—This stone, standing erect, in fair condition, is on the Fenwick place, and is best reached by way of Fenwick station on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. It is taller than the ordinary mile-posts and differently marked. It stands in an old cornfield, where it is partially buried by washing. It bears the legend "Miles 10," is dated 1792, and the variation is $1^{\circ} (2?)$ east.

N. E. 1.—This stone, slightly leaning, but in fair condition, stands in an open meadow a few rods from the Seventh-street road. It is readily reached by the Silver Spring electric railroad, being only three or four minutes' walk from that point of the railroad where it leaves Seventh street and turns east. The date is 1792 and the variation $1^{\circ} 6'$ east.

N. E. 2.—This stone, erect, in fair condition, is in Takoma, about two blocks east of the railroad station. It stands in the fence line on the west side of Maple avenue near the corner of Carroll avenue. The date is 1792 and the variation $1^{\circ} 12'$, but whether east or west cannot be deciphered from the stone.

N. E. 3.—This stone, erect, in fair condition, is on the Martin estate, in the edge of the woods, and is best reached from Stott station on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, from which it is distant about half a mile. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 18'$ west.

N. E. 4.—This stone stands erect, in good condition, in a line fence of the Miller estate, in the edge of the woods. It is on the north side of and near the Sargent road. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 25'$ west.

N. E. 5.—This stone is in fair condition, but leaning at an angle of about 45° . It is a little less than a quarter of a mile south of the Queens Chapel road and stands in a truck garden on the edge of a ditch. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 22'$ east.

N. E. 6.—This stone, erect and in very good condition, is near the Brentwood road, on the bank of a gulch in the woods. It is best reached from the station Rives on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, from which it is distant less than one-fourth of a mile. Its distance from the north corner is six miles and ten rods, as the inscription "Miles 6 & 10 P." informs us. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 51'$ east.

N. E. 7.—This stone is erect but seamed; otherwise is in good condition. It is nearly a mile from the Bladensburg road and difficult to find without a guide; is best reached from the station Rives on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The date is 1792 and the variation $1^{\circ} 8'$ east.

N. E. 8.—This stone, erect and in good condition, is south of the Anacostia or Eastern branch and a few rods north of the road from Benning to Bladensburg. It stands in a field overgrown with weeds on the McCormick place. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 24'$ east.

N. E. 9.—This stone is erect, but in bad condition. It stands on the northeast side and close to a private road leading from and quite near the Sheriff road. A large cherry tree has grown up close beside it, hiding one of its faces. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 19'$ east.

EAST CORNER.—This corner-stone is erect and in good condition. It stands on the Lee place in a cultivated field. The date is 1792 and the variation 0° (10 or 12 or $19'$) east. The last minute figure is broken and uncertain.

S. E. 1.—This stone, slightly leaning and in fair condition, stands in the woods on the old Marshall farm, about half a mile south of Central avenue. The date is 1792 and variation $0^{\circ} 11'$ east.

S. E. 2.—This stone, erect and in excellent condition, is on the Trimble estate, among low scrub in a pasture, and is difficult to find without a guide. It is a short distance south of the Bowen road. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 4'$ east.

S. E. 3.—This stone, slightly leaning, is in bad condition. It stands in a garden near the Suitland road about two miles east of Anacostia. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 8'$ west.

S. E. 4.—This stone stands erect on the south edge of the Naylor road and in the bank where the wheels of passing vehicles have ground off every vestige of lettering. It should be replaced forthwith.

S. E. 5.—This stone, erect, in fair condition, stands in a garden on land owned by a Mr Thompson. It is some distance from any public road and not far from the south bank of Oxon run. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 21'$ east.

S. E. 6.—This stone, erect and in excellent condition, stands in a garden a few rods southwest of the Wheeler road, on the top of the plateau. The date is 1792 and variation $0^{\circ} 18'$ east.

S. E. 7.—This stone, at the northeast edge of the Livingston road, is near the bank of a small stream flowing into Oxon run. Freshets in this little stream have deposited gravel and clay about it so as to bury it almost completely out of sight. Only the tip is visible. By dint of hard digging for some time I uncovered the record of the variation, which proved to be $0^{\circ} 25'$ east.

S. E. 8.—This stone, erect, in fair condition, stands in the edge of a swampy thicket, where it is about half buried from view. It is some distance from any public road, and could not be readily found without a guide. The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 34'$ east.

S. E. 9.—This stone, slightly leaning and in fair condition, stands on the east bank of the Potomac, northeast from Alexandria, and may be readily reached by the Fox ferry. It is partially submerged during highest water. It is 8 miles and 291 rods from the east corner, the inscription being "Miles 8 291 P." The date is 1792 and the variation $0^{\circ} 37'$ east.

Summary of Variation of Compass Observed in 1791 or 1792 and Recorded on the Boundary Monuments of the District of Columbia.

Stone.	Var.	Stone.	Var.	Stone.	Var.	Stone.	Var.
S.	?	W.	$2^{\circ} 60'$ E.	N.	$1^{\circ} 27'$ E.	E.	$0^{\circ} 10'$ E.
S. W. 1.	$0^{\circ} 30'$ W.	N. W. 1.	$1^{\circ} 00'$ E.	N. E. 1.	$1^{\circ} 06'$ E.	S. E. 1.	$0^{\circ} 11'$ E.
S. W. 2.		N. W. 2.	$0^{\circ} 35'$ E.	N. E. 2.	$1^{\circ} 12'$ E.	S. E. 2.	$0^{\circ} 04'$ E.
S. W. 3.	E.	N. W. 3.	$0^{\circ} 10'$ E.	N. E. 3.	$0^{\circ} 18'$ W.	S. E. 3.	$0^{\circ} 08'$ W.
S. W. 4.		N. W. 4.	$0^{\circ} 03'$ W.	N. E. 4.	$0^{\circ} 25'$ W.	S. E. 4.	
S. W. 5.		N. W. 5.	$0^{\circ} 42'$ W.	N. E. 5.	$0^{\circ} 22'$ E.	S. E. 5.	$0^{\circ} 21'$ E.
S. W. 6.	E.	N. W. 6.	E.	N. E. 6.	$0^{\circ} 51'$ E.	S. E. 6.	$0^{\circ} 18'$ E.
S. W. 7.	$0^{\circ} 05'$ E.	N. W. 7.	$0^{\circ} 59'$ E.	N. E. 7.	$1^{\circ} 08'$ E.	S. E. 7.	$0^{\circ} 25'$ E.
S. W. 8.		N. W. 8.	$0^{\circ} 29'$ E.	N. E. 8.	$0^{\circ} 24'$ E.	S. E. 8.	$0^{\circ} 34'$ E.
S. W. 9.	$1^{\circ} 00'$ E.	N. W. 9.	$2^{\circ} 00'$ E.	N. E. 9.	$0^{\circ} 19'$ E.	S. E. 9.	$0^{\circ} 37'$ E.

Mean variation in 1791 or 1792..... $0^{\circ} 30'$ E.
 Variation in 1897..... $4^{\circ} 35'$ W.

Change in 105 years..... $5^{\circ} 05'$
 Yearly change..... 2.9

[N. B.—The stones are numbered in order from south corner to west corner, west to north, north to east, and east to south.]

1237 x .45

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RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume 1, pages 225-242, i-xii

LISTS OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

WITH

**Proceedings from February 18, 1895, to
February 1, 1897**

AND

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**WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
JULY, 1897**

COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

- 1894, May 7. Inaugural Address. J. M. Toner. Published in this volume, page 21.
- 1894, May 7. The Methods and Aims of Historical Inquiry. A. R. Spofford. Published in this volume, page 33.
- 1894, Oct. 1. Boundary of the District of Columbia. Marcus Baker. Unwritten.
- 1894, Nov. 5. Unwelcome Visitors to Washington. M. I. Weller. Published in this volume, page 55.
- 1894, Dec. 3. Washington in 1800; new facts from unpublished letters. Wm. B. Bryan. Manuscript in archives.
- 1895, Jan. 7. The Military and Private Secretaries of George Washington. M. S. Beall. Published in this volume, page 89.
- 1895, Jan. 7. Staughton Street vs. Stoughton Street. J. S. Diller. Unwritten.
- 1895, Feb. 18. The Early Maps and Surveys of Washington. Captain John Stewart.
- 1895, Feb. 18. Sketch of Andrew Ellicott. Mrs S. K. Alexander. Manuscript in archives.
- 1895, Feb. 18. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the unhonored and unrewarded engineer. Dr J. D. Morgan. Manuscript in archives.
- 1895, Feb. 18. L'Enfant, the Man. Wm. B. Bryan. Manuscript in archives.
- 1895, Mar. 4. Peter Casenave, Fourth Mayor of Georgetown. James F. Duhamel.
- 1895, Mar. 4. The Scientific Societies of Washington. Marcus Baker. Unwritten.
- 1895, April 1. Political Discontent in the West. Wills De Haas.
- 1895, April 1. Locality Names about Washington. Professor E. S. Burgess. Unwritten.
- 1895, May 6. The Early Commerce of Washington. Worthington C. Ford.
- 1895, Nov. 4. Captain Henry Fleete. M. I. Weller. Manuscript in archives.
- 1895, Dec. 2. The Alaskan Boundary. Marcus Baker. Published in Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, 1896, volume 28, pages 130-145.

2 *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*

- 1896, Jan. 6. The Princess Pocahontas. Rev. R. R. Howison. Manuscript in archives.
- 1896, Jan. 6. The French Habitant. George R. Stetson. Manuscript in archives.
- 1896, Mar. 2. Washington in the Forbes Expedition. J. M. Toner. Published in this volume, page 185.
- 1896, April 6. An Historic Foundation. Mrs F. C. Dieudonné. Manuscript in archives.
- 1896, May 4. Eighty Years of the Washington Public Schools. J. O. Wilson. Published in this volume, page 119.
- 1896, June 1. Glimpses of Early Days in Washington. B. H. Warner.
- 1896, Dec. 7. Dr Toner as Man and Citizen. M. F. Morris. Published in this volume, page 177.
- 1896, Dec. 7. Dr Toner as Historian, Collector, and Patron of Letters. A. R. Spofford. Unwritten.
- 1896, Dec. 7. Memorial of Kate Field. W J McGee. Published in this volume, page 171.
- 1897, Jan. 4. Observations on the Development of the Nation's Capital. Tallmadge A. Lambert. Manuscript in archives.
- 1897, Feb. 1. History of Pennsylvania Avenue during the First Half of the Century. Samuel C. Busey.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FROM THE 9TH MEETING, HELD FEBRUARY 18, 1895, TO THE 23D
MEETING, HELD FEBRUARY 1, 1897

9th meeting (special).

February 18, 1895.

Held at the home of the President, Dr J. M. Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.10 p m. Attendance, thirty-two.

The election of members and the adoption of a plan of publication by the Board of Managers were announced.

Captain John Stewart read a paper entitled "The early Maps and Surveys of Washington." Discussed by Mr Weller, Mrs Alexander and others.

Mrs Sallie Kennedy Alexander, great-granddaughter of Major Ellicott, exhibited and described a collection of relics of that engineer, including a portrait, a map, several commissions, a silver goblet (the gift of Washington to Ellicott), and a series of letters. Discussed by Professor McGee, who called attention to a biography of Ellicott in Stuart's "Civil and Military Engineers."

Dr James Dudley Morgan read a paper entitled "Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the unhonored and unrewarded Engineer," exhibiting a collection of letters and documents.

Mr W. B. Bryan closed the symposium with a paper on some of L'Enfant's personal affairs. Informally discussed.

Adjourned at 10 p m.

10th meeting.

March 4, 1895.

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.15 p m. Attendance, about thirty.

Mr James F. Duhamel read a paper on "Peter Casenave, fourth Mayor of Georgetown;" followed by an unwritten communication by Mr Marcus Baker on "The Scientific Societies of Washington." Discussed by Messrs Abbe, Spofford, Duhamel, and Burgess.

Adjourned at 9.20 p m.

*11th meeting.**April 1, 1895.*

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.30 p m. Attendance, about thirty.

Mr Wills De Haas read a paper entitled "Political Discontent in the West; Attempt to Separate from the East; Movement for a new State on the Upper Ohio." Discussed by Messrs Duhamel, Kasson, Riddle, Goode, Weller, and Spofford. To the author a vote of thanks was tendered, on motion of Mr Kasson, who for the Board of Managers requested that the manuscript, or a copy of it, be deposited with the Recording Secretary of the Society. Mr Kasson further stated the desire of the Board of Managers to secure for the Society copies or originals of all papers heretofore or hereafter read before it.

Professor Burgess presented an unwritten communication on "Locality Names about Washington." Discussed by Messrs Weller, Baker, and Kasson.

Adjourned at 10 p m.

*12th meeting.**May 6, 1895.*

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.15 p m. Attendance, about thirty-five.

Mr Worthington C. Ford read a paper on "The early Commerce of Washington." Discussed by Messrs Weller, Spofford, Baker, Duhamel, and Toner.

Mr W J McGee followed with an informal report from the Committee on Communications and Publication and some suggestions as to the future work of the Society. Mr Baker spoke on the same theme.

Adjourned at 9.15 p m.

*13th meeting.**November 4, 1895.*

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.15 p m. Attendance, about thirty-five members and guests.

Mr M. I. Weller read a paper on "Captain Henry Fleete; his visit to the town of Tohoga (now the city of Washington) in 1621; his subsequent adventures, &c." Discussed by Messrs Toner, Sunderland, and Spofford.

President Toner announced the decision of the Board of Managers that every member of the Society should be invited to bring to the December meeting some object of historic interest.

Dr Morgan exhibited a letter written by General Washington from Valley Forge, February 28, 1778, to Colonel Fitzgerald, of Alexandria, relative to the Conway Cabal. Informally discussed.

Adjourned at 9.30 p m.

14th meeting.

December 2, 1895.

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.15 p m. Attendance, about twenty members and guests.

Mr Marcus Baker read a paper on "The Alaskan Boundary Question," illustrating the various points presented with maps, charts, and a printed extract from the treaty of 1867. Discussed by Messrs Weller and Kauffmann.

Articles of historic interest were exhibited by Dr Toner, Miss E. B. Johnston, Mr Weller, Mr Duhamel, Mr Willard, and Mrs M. S. Beall.

Adjourned at 10.15 p m.

15th meeting.

January 6, 1896.

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.30 p m. Attendance, about thirty members and guests.

Rev Robert R. Howison, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, honorary member, being unable to be present, at his request his communication, entitled "The Princess Pocahontas; Sketches Biographical and Critical," was read by the Secretary. Discussed by Messrs Weller and Spofford.

Mr George R. Stetson read a paper on "The French Habitant."

Mrs Florence C. Dieudonné exhibited an invitation to attend the funeral of George Washington. The following is a copy of the invitation:

NEW LONDON, *December 25, 5799.*

BROTHER: You are requested to meet your Brethren on the 27th inst., precisely at 9 o'clock A. M., at the Union Lodge Room, with a black crape in the button holes of your vest, as the last tribute of respect to the memory of our illustrious Brother, George Washington, deceased.

By order of the W. M.

NAT. LEDYARD, *Sec'y.*

Adjourned at 10.15 p m.

16th meeting. SECOND ANNUAL MEETING. February 3, 1896.

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.15 p m. Attendance, twenty.

The report of the Treasurer was presented and referred to an auditing committee consisting of Messrs Lewis J. Davis, Tallmadge A. Lambert, and George R. Stetson.

Report of the Secretaries was then read and accepted. (Printed in this volume, page 234.)

The Curator not being ready with his report, it was promised for the next meeting.

Election of officers for the ensuing year was then held, with the following result: The first majority ballot elected Mr A. R. Spofford as President. Mr Spofford acknowledged the honor done him, but felt compelled to decline the election because of press of public business.

The elections then resulted as follows:

President, J. M. Toner.

Vice-Presidents, A. R. Spofford.

John A. Kasson.

Recording Secretary, Mrs Mary Stevens Beall.

Corresponding Secretary, M. I. Weller.

Treasurer, James Dudley Morgan.

Curator, James F. Hood.

Councilors for 4 years, Alex. B. Hagner.

John G. Nicolay.

The auditing committee, by its chairman, Mr Davis, reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been duly examined and found correct. The reports of this committee and of the Treasurer were then adopted. (Reports printed in this volume, page 236.)

Short addresses, reviewing the work of the past and suggesting new lines of research for the coming year, were made by President Toner, and Messrs McGee, Spofford, Wilson, Willard, Noyes, Weller, Davis, and Hagner.

Adjourned at 9.45 p m.

*17th meeting.**March 2, 1896.*

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.15 p m. Attendance, 32 members and guests.

President Toner read a paper entitled "Washington in the Forbes Expedition of 1758." Discussed by Mrs Alexander and Mr Lambert.

Mrs C. W. Richardson exhibited a miniature portrait of Washington, sent by him to General Fouquet by the hand of Lafayette. Remarks were made by Mrs Richardson, Miss E. B. Johnston, President Toner, Mr Lambert, and others.

Adjourned at 9.45 p m.

18th meeting.

April 6, 1896.

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.10 p m. Attendance, 40 members and guests.

The Secretary read a letter addressed to the Columbia Historical Society by the National Geographic Society, inviting members and friends of the former to join the latter in its May excursion and requesting that a member from the Historical Society be appointed to coöperate with the excursion committee of the Geographic Society. The invitation was accepted, and Dr James Dudley Morgan appointed.

Mrs Florence Carpenter Dieudonné read a paper entitled "An Historic Foundation." Discussed by Messrs Weller, Toner, and Lambert.

Historical mementos exhibited : Pearl button, three inches in diameter, from the pink velvet coat of Mr Van Dyke, of colonial New York, and specimens of Continental currency, by Mrs I. E. Pulizzi ; letters of Revolutionary period, by Mrs Sallie Kennedy Alexander, and the autograph of El Baron de Carondelet, governor of the province of Louisiana, by Mr T. L. Cole.

Adjourned at 10 p m.

19th meeting.

May 4, 1896.

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8.15 p m. Attendance, 50 members and guests.

Mr J. Ormond Wilson read a paper entitled "Eighty Years of the Public Schools of Washington—1805 to 1885." Discussed by Messrs Noyes and Weller.

Mr Strong John Thomson presented to the Society a silken banner, formerly the property of the First school district and carried by them in the annual parade of the public school children of the city of Washington.

Mr McGee moved a vote of thanks, which was responded to by a unanimous rising vote.

Adjourned at 10.30 p. m.

*20th meeting.**June 1, 1896.*

Held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, at 8 p m. Attendance, about fifty members and guests.

Mr B. H. Warner read a paper entitled "Glimpses of Early Days in Washington." Discussed by Messrs Hagner, Davis, Weller, and Kasson.

Miss E. B. Johnston called the attention of all present to the fact that the 19th of September, 1896, would be the centenary of Washington's Farewell Address, and urged that the anniversary be recognized by a general display of the national colors.

Mr McGee announced the summer recess and the contemplated plan of action for the winter meetings.

Adjourned at 10 p m.

In Memoriam

*21st meeting.**December 7, 1896.*

Held in the lecture hall of the Columbian University at 8.15 p m, Vice-President Kasson presiding.

After a short address by Mr Kasson, setting forth the object of the *memorial meeting*, the following program was carried out:

Resolution adopted by the Board on the death of President Toner.

Dr Toner as Man and Citizen. Mr Justice Morris.

Dr Toner as Historian, Collector, and Patron of Letters. Mr A. R. Spofford.

Resolutions adopted by the Board on the death of Dr G. Brown Goode, prepared by Miss Elizabeth Bryant Johnston and read by Mr A. R. Spofford.

Resolutions adopted by the Board on the death of Kate Field, read by the Secretary from the minutes of the June meeting of the Board of Managers.

Memorial of Kate Field. W J McGee.

The meeting closed with a brief address by the presiding officer, in which he set forth the importance of historical societies in general and the work to be accomplished by the Columbia Historical Society in particular.

Adjourned at 9.45 p m.

22d meeting.

January 4, 1897.

Held in the reception hall of the Columbian University at 8.15 p m. Attendance, 35 members and guests.

Mr Tallmadge A. Lambert read a paper entitled "Observations upon the Development of the Nation's Capital." Discussed by Messrs Weller and McGee. Mrs Beall gave an appropriate quotation from Washington's Diary under date of September 17, 1787. Mr Spofford spoke of the Washington Diary in the Library of Congress.

Adjourned at 9.30 p m.

23d meeting. THIRD ANNUAL MEETING. February 1, 1897.

Held in the reception hall of the Columbian University at 8.10 p m. Attendance, 40 members and guests.

Dr Samuel C. Busey read a paper entitled "History of Pennsylvania Avenue during the First Half of the Century." Discussed by Messrs Kasson, Weller, McGee, Hagner, Spofford, and the Hon Mr McCormick. A vote of thanks was tendered, by the Society, to Dr Busey.

The guests then withdrew and the members listened to the annual reports and elected their officers for the ensuing year.

The Treasurer presented the *third annual report*, which was referred to an auditing committee composed of Messrs Lewis J. Davis and M. I. Weller. Report approved and adopted. (Printed in this volume, page 236.)

The Recording Secretary read the report of the Secretaries. (Printed in this volume, page 235.)

The Curator promised his report at some future meeting.

Elections.—The result of the first ballot was the election of A. R. Spofford as President. While thanking the Society for the honor done him, Mr Spofford felt constrained to decline because his duties as Librarian of Congress deprive him of the necessary leisure required by the presiding officer of an historical society. The elections were then held, with the following result:

President, John A. Kasson.

Vice-Presidents, A. R. Spofford.

A. B. Hagner.

Treasurer, James Dudley Morgan.

Recording Secretary, Mrs Mary Stevens Beall.

Corresponding Secretary, M. I. Weller.

Curator, James F. Hood.

Councilors for 4 years, Lewis J. Davis.

J. Ormond Wilson.

Councilors to fill vacancies, Marcus Baker.

Hugh T. Taggart.

Samuel C. Busey.

Messrs J. Ormond Wilson and Lewis J. Davis acted as tellers.

Adjourned at 10.15 p m.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARIES

1895-'96

Your secretaries respectfully submit this their *second annual report* for the period beginning with the special meeting held February 18, 1895, and ending with and including the second annual meeting, held February 3, 1896.

The *Society* has held *seven meetings*, including the special meeting or *L'Enfant Symposium*, all at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue. At these seven meetings 10 papers were presented, being one each from 10 different members, and 28 persons have participated in the discussion following. At these meetings numerous *articles of historic interest* were exhibited and informally discussed. The *average attendance* was 30, the highest being 35, the lowest 20.

The roll of membership shows 110 names, of which 16 are new members; 6 never qualified by payment of dues; 11 resigned, and 1, *Osceola C. Green*, has died, leaving a membership of 92 at the close of the second year, classed as 91 active and 1 honorary.

During the year the Society issued two publications, designated *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*; volume 1, the first, comprising pages 1 to 54, and the second, pages 55 to 118.

Though the Society has not grown in numbers during its second year, we feel that it has increased in *importance* and has excited a *deeper interest* in its members. Plans are under discussion for an *historical exhibition* early in the ensuing year.

MARY STEVENS BEALL,

M. I. WELLER,

Secretaries.

FEBRUARY 3, 1896.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARIES
1896-'97

Your Secretaries respectfully submit this the third annual report, for the period beginning with the 17th regular meeting of the Society, Monday evening, March 2, 1896, and ending with and including this the third annual meeting, Monday evening, February 1, 1897.

During the year the Board of Managers elected to active membership 12 persons. There were 9 resignations and 5 deaths.

The deceased members are—

Kate Field,
George Brown Goode,
Erastus Thatcher,
Joseph Meredith Toner,
William Benning Webb,

leaving a total membership of 100, of whom 1 is an honorary and 1 a life member.

The Society has held 7 meetings. Of these, the first 4 were held at the home of President Toner, 1445 Massachusetts avenue, and the last 3 at the Columbian University. At these 7 meetings 6 papers, 2 memorials, and 3 resolutions of condolence were presented, and 26 members participated in discussions upon the papers read. The average attendance was 57, the largest being at the Memorial meeting, when 150 members and guests were present; the smallest 32, at the March meeting. The Board of Managers held 9 meetings, the average attendance being 8, the largest 12, and the smallest 5.

The vacancy in the Board of Managers caused by the death of President Toner was left *unfilled* as a mark of respect, the duties of the President being performed by the Vice-Presidents. The vacancy caused by the death of Miss Kate Field was filled by the election of Marcus Baker. The vacancy caused by the resignation of John G. Nicolay on account of failing health was filled by the election of Hugh T. Taggart.

In October the Society issued a third brochure of volume 1, pages 119 to 170, of the Records of the Columbia Historical Society, being a paper entitled *Eighty Years of the Public Schools of*

Washington, by J. Ormond Wilson, and has in press a Memorial brochure.

MARY STEVENS BEALL,
M. I. WELLER,
Secretaries.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR
ENDING FEBRUARY 3, 1896

Statement of E. Francis Riggs, Treasurer.

COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
February 3, 1896.

1895.	
Feb. 4. Balance as per last report.	\$426 15
Receipts from members :	
Dues for Society's year 1894.	10 00
Dues for Society's year 1895.	365 00
Dues for Society's year 1896.	15 00
Total.	\$816 15
Expenditures as per vouchers (11 to 27).	149 31
1896.	
Feb. 3. Balance on hand.	\$666 84

E. FRANCIS RIGGS,
Treasurer.

Report of Auditing Committee.

We, the undersigned, appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts, certify that we have performed that duty and find the above stated account to be correct, and that properly approved vouchers for all expenditures are on file.

(Signed)
(Signed)
(Signed)

LEWIS J. DAVIS, *Chairman.*
TALLMADGE A. LAMBERT.
GEORGE R. STETSON.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR
ENDING FEBRUARY 1, 1897

Receipts.

To balance on hand February 3, 1896.	\$666 84
To cash from members' dues.	430 00
	<hr/>
	\$1,096 84
	<hr/>

Disbursements.

By printing, voucher No. 28	\$2 25
miscellaneous, voucher No. 29.....	5 00
printing, voucher No. 30.....	4 15
printing Records, etc., voucher No. 31.....	78 40
printing, voucher No. 32	3 50
paper and printing, voucher No. 33.....	3 00
stamps and letter file, voucher No. 34.....	2 50
day book, voucher No. 35	1 10
printing postals, voucher No. 36.....	2 50
printing postals, voucher No. 37	4 75
stationery and stamps, voucher No. 38.....	5 00
printing postals, voucher No. 39.....	3 00
printing, voucher No. 40.....	71 06
postage and envelopes, voucher No. 41.....	11 40
postage, voucher No. 42.....	3 50
engraving, voucher No. 43... ..	2 50
invitations, voucher No. 44.....	30 50
	<hr/>
	\$234 11
Balance	862 73
	<hr/>
	\$1,096 84

JAS. DUDLEY MORGAN,
Treasurer.

Accounts examined by auditing committee and found correct.

J. ORMOND WILSON,
LEWIS J. DAVIS,
Committee.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

No purchases have been made by the Curator during the year.
He has received the following contributions :

23. PHOTOGRAPHS of—

(a) Silver bowl,

(b) Silver pitcher, and

(c) Four silver wine labels, all formerly the property of
General George Washington, now in the possession of Mrs Eben
Norton Horsford.

(d) Photograph of General George Washington, from portrait
by Wertmuller, painted in Philadelphia, 1794.

(Presented by Miss Cornelia Horsford.)

24. BULLETINS of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State.

(a) No. 7, September, 1894. Catalogue of Records of Territories and States. Miscellaneous index. Appendix: Documentary History of the Constitution. Royal 8°, Washington, 1895.

(b) No. 8, November, 1894. Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson. Part II. Letters to Jefferson. Royal 8°, Washington, 1895.

(Presented by the Bureau of Rolls and Library.)

25. A NUMBER of reports and bulletins (6) presented by various persons.

26. TRAVELS in America 100 years ago. Being notes and reminiscences by Thomas Twining. 12mo, New York, 1894.

(Presented by D. W. C. Brodhead, of Delaware Water Gap, Pennsylvania.)

27. BROADSIDE. Copy of "National Intelligencer," Washington City, Wednesday, September 7, 1814.

(Presented by Mr M. I. Weller).

28. FRENCH ASSIGNAT, de vingt-cinq livres. (1793.)

29. CERTIFICATE of clerk of Fairfax County court (1894) concerning presentment by the grand jury of said county, on May 21, 1760, against George Washington and others for not entering their lands according to law, etc.

(Nos. 28 and 29 presented by Mr Lewis J. Davis.)

30. BANNER of the public schools of Washington used in 1858.

(Presented by Mr S. John Thomson, teacher.)

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES F. HOOD, *Curator.*

MARCH 1, 1896.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

The Curator submits the following list of contributions to the Society during the year:

31. BUSEY (SAMUEL C.) Personal Reminiscences and Recollections of Forty-six Years' Membership in the Medical Society of the District of Columbia, and Residence in this City, with Biographical Sketches of many of the Deceased Members. By

Samuel C. Busey, M. D., LL. D., President of the Medical Society of the District of Columbia, 1877, 1894, and 1895. 8°, Washington City, D. C., 1895.

(Presented by the author.)

32. BULLETINS of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State.

(a) No. 6, July, 1894. Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson. Part 1. Letters from Jefferson. Royal 8°, Washington, 1894.

(b) Supplement to No. 4, August, 1895. Index to the Calendar of the Correspondence of James Madison. Royal 8°, Washington, 1895.

(Presented by the Bureau of Rolls and Library.)

33. SMITH (Captain JOHN), of Willoughby, by Alford, Lincolnshire; President of Virginia and Admiral of New England. Works. Edited by Edward Arber. 1 vol., sm. 4°, pp. cxxxvi, 984. Paper, uncut. Rubricated title. Birmingham, 1884.

(Presented by Mr Thomas Harrison.)

34. A NUMBER (40 pieces) of reports, catalogues, bulletins, programmes, addresses, etc.

(Presented by Mr Marcus Baker.)

35. SUPREME COURT OF D. C. The United States of America *vs.* Martin F. Morris *et al.* Opinion of the court.

(Presented by Hon. A. B. Hagner.)

36. BAKER (MARCUS). The Alaskan Boundary, by Marcus Baker. 8°, pp. 16.

(Presented by the author.)

37. LETTER from the Secretary of the Treasury, in answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 11th of January (1864), transmitting the report and tabular statements of the commissioners appointed in relation to emancipated slaves in the District of Columbia. 8°, pp. 79. (14 pieces).

(Presented by Mr F. W. Hodge.)

38. MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(a) Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, with its Transactions, Acts of Incorporation, Constitution, Ordinances, Officers and Members. Vol. II, Helena, 1896.

(b) Catalogue of the Library of the Historical Society of Montana, in two parts. Helena, 1892.

(Presented by the Society.)

39. HALE (J. A.) History and Mystery of the Kanawha Valley. A paper read before the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society by Dr J. A. Hale, president, January 19, 1897. Published by the Society. Charleston, 1897.

(Presented by the Society.)

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES F. HOOD, *Curator.*

MARCH 1, 1897.

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RECORDS
OF THE
COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

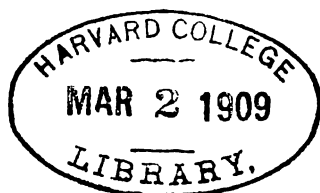
WASHINGTON, D. C.

COMPILED BY
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION AND THE RECORDING
SECRETARY.

VOLUME 2.

WASHINGTON
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1899

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Bright fund

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1899.

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OFFICERS

OFFICERS ELECTED

AT THE

Fourth Annual Meeting, held February 7, 1898

President, JOHN A. KASSON

Vice-Presidents, { AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD
ALEXANDER B. HAGNER

Recording Secretary, . . . MARY STEVENS BEALL

Corresponding Secretary, MICHAEL I. WELLER

Treasurer, JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN

Curator, JAMES F. HOOD

Chronicler, W. B. BRYAN

	1899	{ ELIZABETH BRYANT JOHNSTON THEODORE W. NOYES
<i>Managers classified according to expiration of term of service,</i>	1900	{ SAMUEL C. BUSEY HUGH T. TAGGART
	1901	{ LEWIS J. DAVIS J. ORMOND WILSON
	1902	{ MARCUS BAKER W J MCGEE

STANDING COMMITTEES.

On Seal and Motto.

ALEX. B. HAGNER	MARCUS BAKER
MISS ELIZABETH BRYANT JOHNSTON	

On Communications.

W J McGEE	MARCUS BAKER
M. I. WELLER	

On Membership.

M. I. WELLER	A. R. SPOFFORD
A. B. HAGNER	MARCUS BAKER
T. W. NOYES	

On Publication.

S. C. BUSEY	W J McGEE
MARCUS BAKER	

On Building.

LEWIS J. DAVIS	S. C. BUSEY
HENRY A. WILLARD	M. F. MORRIS
J. ORMOND WILSON	

SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

On L'Enfant Memorial.

J. DUDLEY MORGAN
A. B. HAGNER

J. A. KASSON
HUGH T. TAGGART

On Admission to Washington Academy of Sciences.

S. C. BUSEY

MARCUS BAKER
W J MCGEE

On Bibliography of Washington City and District of Columbia.

W. B. BRYAN
M. I. WELLER

J. F. HOOD
A. R. SPOFFORD
S. C. BUSEY

**LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCI-
ETY, NOVEMBER, 1898.**

Alvord, Henry Elijah, Ames, John Griffith,	Agricultural Department. 1600 Thirteenth Street.
Baker, Frank, Baker, John A.,	1804 Columbia Road. 1819 H Street.
†Baker, Marcus, Barnard, Job, Beale, Charles F. T., Beall, Mrs Mary Stevens, Blount, Henry Fitch, Bovée, J. Wesley, Brown, Glenn, Bryan, J. H., Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart, Busey, Samuel Clagett, Byington, Miss Marie E.,	1905 Sixteenth Street. 1306 Rhode Island Avenue. Metropolitan Club. 1043 Thirty-second Street. The Oaks, 3101 U Street. 1404 H Street. 918 F street. 818 Seventeenth Street. 1330 Eighteenth Street. 1545 I Street. 1468 Rhode Island Avenue.
Carlisle, Calderon, Clark, Allen C., Clarke, Daniel B., Clephane, Walter C., Cook, George Wythe, Cox, Walter S., Crisfield, Arthur, Curtis, William Eleroy, Cutter, Edwin C., Cutts, James Madison,	Fendall Bldg., 344 D Street. 605 F Street. 1422 Massachusetts Ave. 1922 Sixteenth Street. 3 Thomas Circle. 1036 I Street. 1725 G Street. 1801 Connecticut Ave. 1408 G Street. 2815 N Street.
Davis, Eldred G., Davis, Henry E., Davis, Lewis J.,	2211 R Street. The Concord. 1411 Massachusetts Ave.
Emery, Matthew G., Edson, John Joy,	207 I Street. 1324 Sixteenth Street.
Ffoulke, Charles Mather, Finley, H. J., Fletcher, Miss Alice Cunningham, Fletcher, Robert, Flint, Weston, †Founders,	2013 Massachusetts Ave. 2137 Phelps Place. 214 First Street S. E. The Portland. 1213 K Street.

8 *Records of the Columbia Historical Society.*

Gallaudet, Edward Miner,	Kendall Green.
Galt, William,	720 Ninth Street.
†Gardner, Lawrence,	510 I Street.
†Godding, William Whitney,	Gov't Hospital for Insane.
Green, Bernard Richardson,	1738 N Street.
Gurley, William Burton,	1401 Sixteenth Street.
†Hagner, Alexander Burton,	1818 H Street.
Hearst, Mrs Phoebe Apperson,	1400 New Hampshire Ave.
†Hood, James Franklin,	1017 O Street.
Hopkins, Archibald,	Court of Claims.
Howison, Robert R.,	Fredericksburg, Va.
Huddleson, Miss Sara M.,	214 First Street N. E.
Hume, Frank,	1235 Massachusetts Ave.
Hutcheson, David,	Library of Congress.
Hutchins, Stilson,	1003 Massachusetts Ave.
Janney, Bernard Taylor,	1671 Thirty-first Street.
Jeffords, Tracy L.,	City Hall.
Jewell, Claudius Buchanan,	1324 Vermont Avenue.
Johnson, H. L. E.,	1402 L Street.
†Johnston, Miss Elizabeth Bryant,	1320 Florida Avenue.
Johnston, Miss Frances Benjamin,	1332 V Street.
Kasson, John Adam,	1726 I Street.
Kauffmann, Samuel Hay.	1421 Massachusetts Ave.
King, Mrs Isabel,	1120 Vermont Avenue.
Kober, George M.,	1819 Q Street.
Lambert, Tallmadge A.,	410 Fifth Street.
Leiter, Levi Zeigler,	1500 New Hampshire Ave.
Lenman, Miss Isobel Hunter,	1100 Twelfth Street.
Looker, Henry B.,	3112 Q Street.
Lowndes, James,	1707 Rhode Island Ave.
†McGee, W. J.	Bur. of Amer. Ethnology.
McGuire, Frederick Bauders,	1333 Connecticut Avenue.
Madelra, Miss Lucy,	1511 Thirteenth Street.
Magruder, G. Lloyd,	815 Vermont Avenue.
Mason, Otis Tufton,	1721 P Street.
Moore, Frederic Lawrence,	1680 Thirty-first Street.
Moore, John, U. S. A.,	903 Sixteenth Street.
Moore, Mrs Virginia Campbell,	1680 Thirty-first Street.
Morgan, James Dudley,	919 Fifteenth Street.
†Morris, Martin F.,	1314 Massachusetts Ave.
†Founders	

List of Members.

9

Newcomb, Simon, U. S. N.,	1620 P Street.
†Nicolay, John G.,	212 B Street S. E.
†Noyes, Theodore Williams,	1616 S Street.
Noyes, Thomas C.,	Office Evening Star.
 Ord, Pacificus,	 1913 Pennsylvania Ave.
 Powell, Mrs Altha Gibbs,	 722 Thirteenth Street.
†Powell, John Wesley,	910 M Street.
Powell, William Bramwell,	Franklin School.
Pulizzi, Mrs Irene E.,	2305 M Street.
 †Richards, Joseph Havens Cowles,	 Georgetown University.
Richardson, Mrs Charles Williamson,	1102 L Street.
Richardson, Francis Asbury,	1308 Vermont Avenue.
†Riggs, E. Francis,	1311 Massachusetts Ave.
Rives, Mrs Jeannie Tree,	1818 Jefferson Place.
 †Ross, John Wesley.	 Dist. Com'rs. Building.
 Smith, Thomas W.,	 616 East Capitol Street.
Sowers, Z. T.,	1320 New York Avenue.
†Spofford, Ainsworth Rand,	1621 Massachusetts Ave.
Stewart, John,	28 I Street N. E.
Sunderland, Byron,	328 C Street.
 †Taggart, Hugh T.,	 3249 N Street.
Townsend, George Alfred,	Library of Congress.
 Warner, Bralnard Henry,	 916 F Street.
†Weller, Michael Ignatius,	400 Pennsylvania Ave. S. E.
West, Henry Litchfield,	1364 Harvard Street.
Whittemore, William Clark,	1526 New Hampshire Ave.
Willard, Henry A.,	1333 K Street.
Wilson, James Ormond,	1439 Massachusetts Ave.
Wilson, Thomas,	1218 Connecticut Avenue.
Wolf, Simon,	1531 N Street.
Woodward, Thomas P.,	507 E Street.

Number of founders, 36; number retaining membership, 17. Of the 19 whose names are not retained on the roster of membership, 8 never accepted membership, 5 have died, 5 have resigned, and one has never paid any dues.

†Founders

EXPLANATION.

As early as August, 1895, the Society commenced the publication of its records, issuing the first volume in the form of fascicles, usually containing one paper, selected by the Committee on Publication. In this manner the first volume of 242 pages was completed in July, 1897. In May, 1898, the paper of Mr Spofford, entitled, "The Life and Labors of Peter Force, Mayor of Washington," containing thirteen pages, was published as the first fascicle of Volume 2. Subsequently, November, 1898, the Board of Managers changed the style of publication from that of the brochure form to that of a volume, and directed the Committee on Publication to include in such volume such, and only such, papers as the Board might order to be published, together with the reports of officers and proceedings of its meetings. This action of the Board effected, for the time being, the abandonment of the brochure and adoption of the volume form, the consequent obliteration of the first fascicle of Volume 2, and the republication of Mr Spofford's paper in its proper place in the Reminiscences of the Mayors in this volume.

The foregoing statement has been deemed necessary to avoid the confusion of issuing two volumes numbered 2, one consisting only of a single paper in the brochure form.

CONSTITUTION.

(Amended and Revised, February 7, 1898.)

ARTICLE 1.

Title.

The name of this Society shall be the COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 2.

Objects.

The objects of the Society shall be the collection, preservation, and diffusion of knowledge respecting the history and topography of the District of Columbia and National history and biography.

ARTICLE 3.

Members.

SECTION 1. This Society shall consist of active, corresponding, and honorary members. Active members shall be residents of the District. Honorary members shall be persons eminent in historical attainments, resident elsewhere.

SEC. 2. New members may be proposed through the Recording Secretary, by two members, in writing, and the Board of Managers shall vote upon proposed members at their next ensuing meeting. No nominee shall be elected against whom three negative ballots are cast.

SEC. 3. The annual dues of active members shall be fixed by the Board of Managers, and shall be due on the first of January for the ensuing year. The fee for life membership shall be fifty dollars (\$50).

ARTICLE 4.

Officers.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, a Treasurer, a Curator, a Chronicler, and eight Managers, who together shall constitute an executive body called the Board of Managers. Five officers shall constitute a quorum of the Board of Managers.

SEC. 2. The officers shall be elected annually, to serve until the close of the meeting at which their successors are chosen. The term of office shall be, for the Managers four years, for all other officers one year. The Managers shall be grouped in four classes of two each, and one class shall be chosen at each annual meeting to serve four years. All officers shall be chosen from among the active or life members, by ballot, without formal nominations. Only active and life members whose dues are paid shall be entitled to vote.

SEC. 3. The Board of Managers shall have power, (a) to fill all vacancies occurring in its own membership; (b) to determine the times, places, and programmes for the meetings; (c) to appoint committees; and (d) to transact all business not otherwise provided for.

SEC. 4. The duty of the Chronicler shall be the preparation and the presentation at each annual meeting of a succinct statement of the principal events of historic interest which have transpired within the District of Columbia during the preceding calendar year.

ARTICLE 5.

Meetings.

SECTION 1. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in January, at which annual reports, election of officers, and other business shall be in order. The

regular meetings shall be held monthly, except during the summer adjournment, to be determined by the Board of Managers.

SEC. 2. The regular meetings of the Board of Managers shall be held immediately before the annual and regular meetings of the Society, and special meetings may be called by the President or by five members of the Board.

ARTICLE 6.

Finances.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive dues and other accessions to the funds of the Society, and shall account for the same. He shall deposit in bank, to the credit of the Society, all funds received by him, and shall submit an annual report, which shall be audited by a committee of three members, who are not officers, to be chosen by the Society at the regular meeting next preceding the annual meeting.

SEC. 2. All receipts from life membership fees shall be invested as a permanent fund, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

SEC. 3. Payments from the funds of the Society shall be made only on the drafts of the Treasurer, countersigned by the President.

SEC. 4. No debts shall be contracted nor payments made except by authority of the Board of Managers.

ARTICLE 7.

Amendments.

This Constitution may be amended by a majority of members present at an annual meeting, but notice of any proposed amendment, which must be signed by

not less than three members, shall be submitted in writing at least one month previous, at a regular meeting, to the Secretary, who shall mail a printed copy of each amendment to every member at least one week prior to the annual meeting.

Resolution adopted by the Board of Managers, February 18, 1895:

On motion of Mr Spofford it was voted that the edition of the first fascicle of the Records of the Columbia Historical Society (containing charter, constitution, presidential addresses, list of members, etc.) shall be 500 copies, and that the edition of later fascicles be 350 copies, unless otherwise ordered.

On motion of Mr Kasson it was (April 1, 1895),

Resolved, That the original, or a copy, of every paper heretofore or hereafter read before the Society, be left with the Recording Secretary for the Archives; and that the Committee on Publication be authorized, in their discretion, to publish the same or any part thereof.

COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

CONTINUATION FROM PAGE 226, VOL. 1.

- 1897, Feb. 1. History of Pennsylvania Avenue during the First Half of the Century. Samuel C. Busey. Published in "Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past."
- 1897, Mar. 15. Boundary Monuments of the District of Columbia. Marcus Baker. Published in Vol. I, p. 215-224.
- 1897, May 7. National Nomenclature of Streets for the Nation's Capital. Alexander B. Hagner. Published by the Author.
- 1897, June 8. Reminiscences of the Mayors of Washington. Col. James G. Berret. Vol. 2.
Peter Force. Mayor of Washington. Ainsworth R. Spofford. Vol. 2.
Robert Brent. James Dudley Morgan. Vol. 2.
Rapine, Blake, Orr, and Smallwood. M. I. Weller. Vol. 2.
- 1897, Nov. 1. L'Enfant's Map of Washington. Samuel C. Busey. Published in "Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past."
Notes on the Building of Cabin John Bridge. William T. S. Curtis. Vol. 2.
- 1897, Dec. 6. A Decade of the Public Schools of Washington. William B. Powell. Unwritten.
- 1898, Jan. 10. The White House from John Adams to James Madison. John G. Nicolay. Manuscript withheld by the author.
- 1898, Feb. 7. The Surveyors of the District of Columbia and City of Washington. Henry B. Looker. Vol. 2.
- 1898, Mar. 7. Personal Characteristics of George Washington. Elizabeth Bryant Johnston. Unwritten.
- 1898, April 4. Sketch of Our Local Governments, with List of Officials. W. B. Bryan. Published as Senate Document No. 238, 55th Congress.
- 1898, May 2. The Life, Times, Character, and Influence of Dolly Madison. James Madison Cutts. Manuscript in archives.

**COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—TREASURER'S REPORT,
FEBRUARY 7, 1898.**

Receipts.

To balance on hand February 1, 1897.....	\$862.73
To cash from members' dues.....	478.25
	<hr/>
	1,340.98
To balance on hand February 7, 1898.....	954.67

Disbursements.

By printing, voucher No. 45.....	\$10.50
postage, etc., voucher No. 46.....	5.45
postage, voucher No. 47.....	15.00
engraving, voucher No. 48.....	2.30
printing, voucher No. 49.....	79.27
postage, etc., voucher No. 50.....	12.88
map, voucher No. 51.....	3.00
printing, voucher No. 52.....	42.75
postage, voucher No. 53.....	4.50
half tones, voucher No. 54.....	13.65
printing, voucher No. 55.....	54.22
printing, voucher No. 56.....	3.25
envelopes, etc., voucher No. 57.....	11.89
Mahoney's bill, etc., voucher No. 58.....	24.25
Banquet Hall, voucher No. 59.....	25.00
hectograph, etc., voucher No. 60.....	6.40
postage, etc., voucher No. 61.....	2.25
Banquet Hall, voucher No. 62.....	25.00
postage, etc., voucher No. 63.....	3.50
Banquet Hall, voucher No. 64.....	25.00
printing, voucher No. 65.....	16.25
	<hr/>
	386.31
Balance	954.67
	<hr/>
	1,340.98

JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN,
Treasurer.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARIES—1897-'98.

Your Secretaries respectfully submit this, their *fourth annual report*, for the period beginning with the twenty-fourth regular meeting of the Society, Monday evening, March 15, 1897, and ending with and including this, the fourth annual meeting, Monday evening, February 7, 1898.

During the year the Board of Managers has elected to active membership 20 persons. There have been three resignations and four deaths; the latter were—

Lewis Clephane,
G. M. Fague,
Gardiner G. Hubbard,
Richard Smith,

leaving a total membership of 109 persons, of whom one is an honorary and one a life member.

The Society has held seven meetings. Of these the first three were held at the Columbian University and the last four at the Shoreham. During the year the Society and its guests have listened to eight papers and two unwritten addresses, which were discussed by eighteen persons, while seven others have each given three-minute talks on historical subjects. The average attendance has been 71; the largest being at the January meeting, when the audience numbered 140; the smallest 35, at the March meeting. The Board of Managers has held nine meetings; the average attendance has been 11, the largest 12, and the smallest 8.

Resolutions of condolence on the death of the former Vice-President, Gardiner G. Hubbard, were presented by W J McGee, adopted by the Society, spread upon the minutes, and a copy sent to his family.

During the year the Society has issued, at different times, four brochures of Volume I, being pages 171 to 242, inclusive, with a title page and index, thus completing Volume I of its Records. Objects of historical interest have been exhibited at its meetings and preliminary steps taken toward securing a permanent home for the Society, its library and records. Courtesies have been extended to and received from kindred associations, and Congress has been memorialized on the subject of National Nomenclature for the Streets of the Nation's Capital.

MARY STEVENS BEALL,
M. I. WELLER,
Secretaries.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

I beg leave to present, as my fourth annual report, the appended list of contributions to the Society during the past year:

40. MAPS of the District of Columbia.

(a) **Topographical Map of the Original District of Columbia and Environs: Showing the Fortifications Around the City of Washington.** By E. G. Arnold, C. E. New York, 1862.

(b) **Map of the City of Washington and Environs.** Published by W. H. Morrison, 475 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C. (1884).

(c) **Plan of the City of Washington, etc.** Engraved by Thackara & Vallance, Philadelphia. 1792. Coast Survey No. 3035.

(d) **Plan of the City, etc.** Reproduction of L'Enfant map. Coast Survey No. 3035a.

(e) **Map of the City of Washington, Showing the Location of Sewers.** 1886. Blue print.

(Presented by Mr Marion Thatcher.)

41. Third Biennial Report of the Librarian of the Historical Society of the State of Montana. 1895-96. Helena, Montana.

(Presented by the Society.)

42. Street Nomenclature of Washington City. Address by Alexander B. Hagner before the Columbia Historical Society, delivered May 3, 1897.

(Presented by the author.)

43. A History of the Government of the District of Columbia. By Walter C. Clephane, of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. 1892.

(Presented by the author.)

44. DOUGLAS (Stephen A.). An American Continental Commercial Union. Edited by J. M. Cutts.

(Presented by Col J. M. Cutts.)

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES F. HOOD, *Curator.*

MARCH 1, 1898.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

24th meeting.

March 15, 1897.

Held in the Reception Hall of the Columbian University at 8 p. m. Attendance, 35 members and guests.

President Kasson, in a short address, outlined the objects of the Society, and suggested numerous topics connected with the early history of Washington City as proper and important subjects of research for the members.

Mr Marcus Baker read a paper entitled, "The Boundary Monuments of the District of Columbia." Discussed by Messrs Weller, Kasson, Davis, and McGee. Mr Baker was appointed a committee of one to memorialize the Government of the District on behalf of the restoration of the old landmarks, as represented by the boundary stones.

Adjourned at 9 p. m.

25th meeting.

May 7, 1897.

Held in the Lecture Hall of the Columbian University at 8 p. m. Attendance, 40 members and guests.

Mr Justice Hagner read a paper entitled, "National Nomenclature of Streets for the Nation's Capital." Discussed by Messrs Kasson, Emery, Davis, Weller, Spofford, and Judge Nott. It was moved by Mr Weller, and seconded by Mr Spofford, that a committee should be appointed to memorialize Congress in connection with the paper of the evening, for the purpose of securing a change from the present scheme of naming the streets for letters to a system of alphabetical names commemorating Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and other eminent citizens.

Adjourned at 9.45 p. m.

26th meeting.

May 31, 1897.

Five hundred invitations having been issued for the 26th meeting of the Columbia Historical Society, at the Columbian University, May 31, 1897, at 8 o'clock p. m., a large audience assembled to find the building locked up and unlighted.

In explanation of the above the following letter was received from the President of the University:

June 8, 1897.

HON. JOHN A. KASSON:

MY DEAR SIR—I wish to make public apology for the mistake of one of the servants of the University, by which the Columbia Historical Society was disappointed Decoration Day. The mistake has been a source of great mortification to us all. If you feel inclined to say this at the meeting this evening I shall feel grateful for the favor.

Very sincerely yours,

B. L. WHITMAN.

The Columbian University, Washington, D. C.

Office of the President.

Adjourned 26th meeting.

June 8, 1897.

Held in the Lecture Hall of the Columbian University at 8 p. m. Attendance, 95 members and guests.

President Kasson announced the committee to memorialize Congress concerning the change of names for the streets of the National Capital, said memorial to embody or accompany the paper on that subject, read before the Society by Mr Justice Hagner, on May 7, 1897:

Messrs John A. Kasson, Chairman by provision of
resolution creating the committee,

M. I. Weller,

Marcus Baker,
Lewis J. Davis,
M. F. Morris,
J. Ormond Wilson.

The following programme on "Reminiscences of the Mayors of Washington," was then carried out: Ex-Mayor James G. Berret spoke on his personal recollection; Ex-Mayor Emery responded to a call by thanking the officers, members and guests of the Society, but declared he could add nothing to what had already been said; Hon A. R. Spofford read a paper on Peter Force; Dr J. D. Morgan read one on Robert Brent, exhibiting a portrait and photographs; and Mr M. I. Weller read one on Rapine, Blake, Orr and Smallwood.

Adjourned at 10.15 p. m.

27th meeting.

November 1, 1897.

Held in the Banquet Hall of the Shoreham, at 8 p. m.
Attendance, about 60 members and guests.

Dr Samuel C. Busey read a paper, entitled, "L'Enfant's Map of Washington." Discussed by Messrs B. R. Green, J. G. Ames, and J. A. Wineberger.

Mr William T. S. Curtis read a paper entitled, "Notes on the Building of Cabin John Bridge." Discussed by Messrs G. Lloyd Magruder, Green, Weller, Busey, and Taggart.

Judge Hagner moved a vote of thanks to the historians of the evening.

Adjourned at 10.15 p. m.

28th meeting.

December 6, 1897.

Held in the Banquet Hall of the Shoreham at 8 p. m.
Attendance, about 75 members and guests.

Superintendent William B. Powell addressed the Society and its guests on the subject of "A Decade of

the Public Schools of Washington," taking up the subject where the paper of Mr J. Ormond Wilson, of May 4, 1896, had left it.

Three-minute talks on Sources of Historical Information were given by Hon A. R. Spofford, Messrs M. I. Weller, W. B. Bryan, George Alfred Townsend, and Judge Hagner.

Adjourned at 10.15 p. m.

29th meeting.

January 10, 1898.

Held in the Banquet Hall of the Shoreham at 8.15 p. m. Attendance, about 140 members and guests.

President Kasson spoke of the death of Hon Gardiner G. Hubbard, and his connection with this Society. Professor W J McGee offered the following resolutions of condolence, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Gardiner Greene Hubbard, a founder and one-time Vice-President of the Columbia Historical Society, has gone from among us forever. Therefore,

Resolved, That this Society note with profound sorrow the death of our honored associate, whose labors for the enrichment of knowledge and for the welfare of mankind end only with his life.

Resolved, That the foregoing expression be communicated to the family, and that this Society take steps toward uniting with other institutions of the National Capital in perpetuating Mr Hubbard's memory.

Owing to the illness of Col John G. Nicolay he could not be present, but his paper, entitled, "The White House from John Adams to James Madison," was read by Prof. W J McGee. Discussed by President Kasson.

Miss Marie E. Byington exhibited an impression of the Declaration of Independence, taken in 1823; Col J. M. Cutts, a daguerreotype of Dolly Madison, the last

picture known to have been taken of her before her death; and Judge A. B. Hagner, some letters from James Madison.

Adjourned at 9.45 p. m.

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

30th meeting.

February 7, 1898.

Held in the Banquet Hall of the Shoreham at 8.10 p. m. Attendance, about 50 members and guests.

Mr Henry B. Looker read a paper entitled, "Surveyors of the District of Columbia and City of Washington." Discussed by Messrs Cutts, Morgan, Kasson, Weller, and Marcus Baker. Dr Morgan exhibited photographs of L'Enfant's unmarked grave, and President Kasson filed with the Secretary, to be kept among the records of the Society, the copy of a bill introduced by him while a member of the House of Representatives, May 22, 1884, "To authorize the erection of a monument in memory of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant."

The Society then transacted the business appertaining to the annual meeting.

The Treasurer presented his report; the Chair appointed Messrs Cutts, Looker, and Magruder, as auditors. Report approved and adopted.

The Recording Secretary read the report of the Secretaries. Approved and accepted.

The Curator being absent on account of illness, his report was read by the Secretary. Approved and accepted.

The members of the Society having already received printed copies of the proposed amendments to its Constitution, Mr. Spofford, as chairman of the committee to whom that business was entrusted, explained briefly

why such amendments were deemed necessary. Col Cutts, Dr Magruder, and Mrs Beall proposed some amendments to the amendments, and after discussion, participated in by Messrs Hagner, Kasson, Baker, Weller, McGee, Magruder, Spofford, and Cutts, the Amended Constitution was adopted as presented by the Amendment Committee.

The annual election of officers resulted as follows:

President, John A. Kasson.

Vice-Presidents, Ainsworth R. Spofford,
Alexander B. Hagner.

Treasurer, James Dudley Morgan.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Mary Stevens Beall.

Corresponding Secretary, M. I. Weller.

Curator, James F. Hood.

Chronicler, W. B. Bryan.

Managers for 4 years, Marcus Baker,
W J McGee.

Miss Byington exhibited a Washington directory of 1836.

Adjourned at 10.30 p. m.

L'ENFANT'S REPORTS TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, BEARING DATES OF MARCH 26, JUNE 22, AND AUGUST 19, 1791.

These documents have not been previously published and are not known to the general public. They are of special interest in connection with other public documents published for the first time in this volume. In view of this fact, and to complete, as far as possible, the history of L'Enfant's authorship of the plan of the city, a communication was addressed to Col. Bingham, Engineer-in-charge of the Public Buildings and Grounds, for permission to have copies of these reports for publication in the records of this Society, with the

request that the application should be referred to General John M. Wilson, Chief of Engineers, from whom the following reply was received. The copies have been made under the direction and supervision of Mr John Stewart, who has charge of the old records of the office of Public Buildings and Grounds and they are, therefore, correct.

Office of the Chief of Engineers,

United States Army,

Washington, D. C., Dec. 1, 1898.

DR S. C. BUSEY, No. 1545 I St. N. W., Wash., D. C.:

MY DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 28th ult. reached me this a. m., upon my return to the city.

It has given me pleasure to say to Col Bingham that I have no objection to your having copies of the letters you mention, and it will afford him equal pleasure to send them to you.

Yours very truly,

JOHN M. WILSON,

Brig. Genl. Chief of Eng., U. S. A.

NOTE RELATIVE TO THE GROUND LYING ON THE EASTERN BRANCH OF THE RIVER POTOMACK AND BEING INTENDED TO PARALLEL THE SEVERAL POSITION PROPOSED WITHIN THE LIMITS BETWEEN THE BRANCH AND GEORGETOWN FOR THE SEAT OF THE FEDERAL CITY.

After coming upon the hill from the Eastern Branch ferry the country is level and on a space of about two miles each way present a most elligible position for the first settlement of a grand City, and one which if not the only within the limits of the Federal territory is at least the more advantageous in that part lying between the Eastern Branch and Georgetown.

The soil is dry and notwithstanding well watered abounding springs it has an wholesome air and being of an easy ascent it is however so high that it command on most of the surrounding country and may be effectually guarded from those Hills overlooking it—these are on the oposite side of the water and branch from the grand western mountain which come round and Extend down on that eastern shore in bordering on the River Potowmack and they may rather be considered as a mean for protection. As the securing of their submit with proper Establishment would render that situation most respectable.

With respect to navigation it lay at the head of an extensive one and cover and from the bank of an harbor in every respect to be prefered to that of the Potowmack toward Georgetown Less impeded by ice and never so swelled with fresh—the chanell is deeper and will admit any vessel as may pass over the shalow down below at the mariland pt. being moored to warfs while they most remain at half mile off from the bank of the Potowmack owing to the main chanel bearing from the entrance into the eastern branch immediately and all the way up on the Virginia shore until it come to strik on Mason Island round which in turning it come to wash for ashore to space on the Rock at hampstead Pt. or Funktown, making its way to and from the wharfs at georgetown were the grand navigation end.

this spot made to derive every possible advantage from water conveyance would in the same time be free from the great Enconveniency attending the crossing of navigable River. the deep water in that branch not coming further up than Evans Pt. about half mile above the ferry there the large bed of the river immediately changes in to Run over the which bridges

might easily be erected to secure a constant intercourse with the eastern continent in the meanwhile as it would facilitate seats being fixed on each border of a grand stream whose depth abounds with fish, and whose aspect in affording a debasement from the great bustling rest the eyes from the grand sight below the City.

All the total of this ground is such as will favour every improvement as may render the City agreeable commodious and capable of promoting all sort of establishment on its water side from the mouth of the Eastern branch at Carroll borough as far up as to Evans point a distance of above three miles the frequent winding of the shore form many natural wet dock which for not having every were a great depth of water nevertheless would become very convenient for the establishing of naval store and for arsenals the which as well as ware house for merchant men might safely be raised on the water edge without fear of impeding the prospect from on the Heigh flat behind.—there were the level ground on the water and all round were it descend but most particularly on that part terminating in a ridge to Jenkins Hill and running in a parallel with and at half mile off from the river Potowmack separated by a low ground intersected with three grand streams—many of the most desirable position offer for to Erect the Publique Edifices thereon—from these height every grand building would rear with a majestied aspect over the Country all around and might be advantageously seen from twenty miles off which Contiguous to the first settlement of the City they would there stand to ages in a Central point to it, facing on the grandest prospect of both of the branch of the Potowmack with the town of Alexandry in front seen in its fullest extent over many points of land projecting from the Mariland and Virginia shore in a manner as

add much to the perspective at the end of which the Cape of great Hunting Creek appears directly were a corner stone of the Federal District is to be placed and in the room of which a Majestic Colum or a grand Perysomid being erected would produce the happiest effect and Compleatly finish the landskape.

Thus in every respect advantageously situated the Federal City would soon grow of itself and spread as the branches of a tree does toward were they meet with most nourishment.

then the attractive local will lay all Round and at distance not beyond those limits within the which a City the Capital of an Extensive Empire may be deliniated.

having a bridge laid over the Eastern branch some were above Evans pt. there the natural limit of the Eastern branch of the City may be extended while in its western extrimity may be included Georgetown itself which being situated at the head of grand navigation of the Potowmack should be favoured with the same advantage of better Communication with the Southern by having also a bridge erected over the Potowmack at the place of the two Sisters were nature would effectually favour the undertaking.

there between those two points beginning with the settlement of the grand City on the bank of the Eastern branch and promoting the first improvement all along of the Heigh flat as far as were it end on Jenkins Hill would place the city central to the ground left open to its agrandisement which most undoubtly would be rapid toward both extremity provided nevertheless that attention be paid immediately on laying the first out line of the establishment to open a direct and large avenue from the bridge on the Potowmack to that on the Eastern branch the which should be well level

passing across Georgetown and over the most advantageous ground for prospect thought the Grand City, with a middle way paved for heavy carriage and walk on each side planted with double Rows of trees to the end that by making it a communication as agreeable as it will be convenient it may the more induce the improvement of either place all along and prompt the citizens in both to Exertions to shorten the distance by buildings insensibly affect the wished junction and compleat a street laid out on a dimension proportioned to the greatness which a city the Capitale of a powerful Empire ought to manifest.

In viewing the Intended Establishment in the light and considering how in progress of time a city so happily situated will extend over a large surface of Ground, much deliberation is necessary for to determine on a plan for the total distribution and conceive that plan on a system which in the mean while as it most render the place commodious and agreeable to the first settler in it may be capable of having made a part of the whole when enlarged by progressive improvement, the which to be made agreeable to what will first have been erected and preserve the similar correspondence with what may only be intended should be foreseen in the first deliniation in a grand plan of the whole city combined with the various ground it will cover and with the particular circumstance of the country all around.

in endeavoring to effect this it is not the regular assemblage of houses laid out in square and forming streets all parallel and uniform that is so necessary for such plan could only do on a well level plain and were no surrounding object being interesting it become indifferent which way the opening of street may be directed.

but on any other ground a plan of this sort most be defective and it never would answer for any of the spots proposed for the Federal City, and on that held here as the most eligible it would absolutely annihilate every of the advantage enumerated and the seeing of which will alone injure the success of the undertaking.

such regular plan indeed however answerable as they may appear upon paper or seducing as they may be on the first aspect to the eyes of some people most even when applyed upon the ground the best calculated to admit of it become at last tiresome and insipide and it never could be in its orrigine but a mean continance of some cool imagination wanting a sense of the real grand and truly beautifull only to be met with were nature contribut with art and diversify the objects.

It is believed that this report was delivered to President Washington at Georgetown, March 26, 1791.

JOHN STEWART, C. E.,

In charge of Records, Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, Dec. 14, 1898.

GEORGETOWN, *Jun 22*—1791

SIR. In framing the plan here anexed, for the for the intended Federal City I regreted much being indered by the shortness of time from making any particular drawing of the several buildings—squars—and every other improvement which the smallness of the scale of the general map together with the hurry with which I had it drawn could not admit of having so correctly lay down as necessary to give a perfect Idea of the effect of the whole in the execution.

My whole attention was given to the combination of the general distribution of the grand local as to an object of most immediate moment and of importance to this I yielded every other consideration and have in

consequence to sollicite again your Indulgence in submitting to you my Ideas in an incomplete drawing only correct as to the situation and distance of objects all of which were determined after a local well ascertained having for more accuracy had several lines run on the ground cleared of the wood and afterwards measured with posts fixed all along, to serve me as certain bases from after the which I might arrange the whole with a certainty of making every part fit to the various grounds.

having first determined some principal points to which I wished making the rest subordinate I next made the distribution regular with streets at right angle *north-south* and *east west* but afterwards I opened others on various directions as avenues to and from every principal places, wishing by this not nearly to contrast with the general regularity nor to afford a greater variety of pleasant seats and prospect as will be obtained from the advantageous ground over the which the avenues are mostly directed but principally to connect each part of the city with more efficacy by, if I may so express, making the real distance less from place to place in menaging on them a reiprocity of sight and making them thus seemingly connected promote a rapide sttlement over the whole so that the most remot may become an adition to the principal while without the help of these divergents communications such settlements if at all attempted would be languid, and lost in the Extant would become detrimental to the main establishment.

Several of these avenues were also necessary to effect the junction of of several out road which I concluded essential to bring central to the city in rendering these road shorter as is done with respect to the bladensburg and Eastern branche Road made above a mile shorter

besides the advantage of their leading from the direction given immediately on the warfs of georgetown without passing the hilly ground of that place whose agrandissement it will consequently check while it will accelerate those over Wik creek on the city side the which cannot help spreading soon all along of these avenues forming of themselves a variety of pleasant ride and being combined to injure a rapide Inter-course with all the part of the City to which they will serve as does the main vains in the animal body to diffuse life through smaller vessels in quickening the active motion to the heart.

as to on what point it is most expedient first to begone the main Establishment, I believe the question may be easily reply if not viewing by part embracing under one sight the whole extant from the Eastern branch to Georgetown and from the branch on the Potowmack across toward the mountains. for considering impartially this whole extant and reflecting it is that of the Intended city than only one position will appear capable of promoting the rapid agrandizement and settlement of the whole.

across the tiber of above were the tide water come lay certainly the elligible spot to lay the Foundation of an establishment of the nature of the one in view, not because this point being central is most likely to diffuse an Equality of advantages trough the whole territory and in turn to devise a benefit propotional to the rise of its value but because the nature of the local is such as will made everything concur to render a settlement there prosperous—there it will benefit of the natural jalousie which most stimulate establishments on each of its opposed limits it will become necessarily the point of reunion of both and soon become popu-louz. a canal being easy to open from the eastern

branch and to be lead across the first settlement and carried toward the mouth of the tiber where it will again give an issue into the Potowmack and at a distance not to far off for to admit the boats from the grand navigation canal from getting in, will undoubtedly facilitate a conveyance most advantageous to trading Interest it will insure the storing of marketts which, as lay down on the map, being erected all along the canal and over grounds proper to shelter any number of boats will serve of Mart Houses from were when the city is grown to its fullest extent the most distant markets will be supplied at command.

to these advantages of first necessity to consider to determine the seat of a City is added that of the propositions which there offer and the which are the most susceptible of any within the limits of the intended city of leading to those grand improvements of publique magnitude and as may serve as models for all subsequent undertaking and stand to future ages a monument to national genius and munificence.

After much menutial search for an elligible situation, prompted I may say from a fear of being prejudiced in favour of a first opinion I could discover no one so advantageously to greet the congressional building as is that on the west end of Jenkins heights which stand as a pedestal waiting for a monument, and I am confident, were all the wood cleared from the ground no situation could stand in competition with this. some might perhaps require less labour to be rendered agreeable but after all assistance of arts none ever would be made so grand and all other would appear but of secondary nature.

that were I determine the seat of the presidial palace, in its difference of nature may be view of advantageous to the object of ading to the sumptuousness of

a palace the convenience of a house and the agreeableness of country seat situated on that ridge which attracted your attention at the first inspection of the ground on the west side of the tiber entrance it will see 10 or 12 miles down the Potowmack front the town and harbor of Alexandria and stand to the view of the whole city and have the most improved part of it made by addition to those grand Improvements for which the ground in the dependeny of the palace is to proper.

fixed as expressed on the map the distance from the Congressional House will not be to great as what the activity of business may be no mesage to nor from the president is to be made without a sort of decorum which will doubtless point out the propriety of committe waiting on him in carriage should his palace be even contiguous to Congress.

to mak however the distance less to other officers I placed the three grand Departments of State contiguous to the principle Palace and on the way leading to the Congressional House the gardens of the one together with the park and other improvement on the dependency are connected with the publique walk and avenue to the Congress house in a manner as most form a whole as grand as it will be agreeable and convenient to the whole city which form the distribution of the local will have an early access to this place of general resort and all along side of which may be placed play houses, room of assembly, accademies and all such sort of places as may be attractive to the learned and afford diversion to the idle.

I proposed continuing the canal much further up but this being not to be effectual but with the aid of lock, and from a level obtained of the height of the spring of the tiber the greatest facility being to bring

those waters over the flat back of Jenkins I gave the more readily a preference to avail of this water to supply that part of the city as it will promot the execution of a plan which I propose in this map, of leting the tiber return in its proper channel by a fall which issuing from under the base of the Congress building may there form a cascade of forty feet heigh or more than one hundred waide which would produce the most happy effect in rolling down to fill up the canall and discharge itself in the Potowmack of which it would then appear as the main spring when seen through that grand and majestic avenue intersecting with the prospect from the palace at a point which being seen from both I have designated as the proper for to erect a grand Equestrian figure.

in the present unimproved state of the local it will appear that the height were is marked that monument dose intercept the view of the water from the palace and in fact it is partly the case but it most be observed that having to bound the entrance of the tiber at the breadth of a canal of 200 ft. which is the utmost breadth that can be preserve to avoid its being drained at low water. it will require much ground to be trown in to feel up, and at least as much as will enable to levell that point of heigh ground between the tiber and P Yong House to almost a level with the tide water and of course to procure to the palace and all other houses from that place to congress a prospect of the Potowmack the which will acquire new swithness being laid over the green of a field well level and made brilant by shade of few tree artfully planted

I am with respectfull submission

Your most humble & obedient servant,

P. C. L'ENFANT.

Per

To the President of the United States.

GEORGETOWN, August 19—1791

SIR. The highest of my ambition gratified in having met with your approbation in the project of the plan which I have now the Honor of presenting to you agreeable to your direction. Still leaving me something to wish for until I see the Execution of that plan effected to the full attainment of your object.

I shall here beg the permission of fixing for a moment your attention on matter which I conceive of most importance to the advancement of the business.

The Inspection of the anexed map of dotted lines being sufficiently explanatory of the progress made in the work will I hope leave you satisfied how much more has been done than may have been expected from hands less desirous of meeting your applause and I shall confine on this subject with express the obligation I feel to be under for the kindly assistance given me by Mr Ellicott and to request if circumstances may admit of a delay in the prosecution of the business be discharged with on the frontier of Georgie—that his going there may be differed until the latter end of November next his assistance till then being most Indispensable to compleat the work begone as is necessary to have a number of lots for houses measured and marked before the time when the first sale is intended.—

this business has proved more tedious than at first considered owing to the multiplicity of operations Indispensable to determine the acute angles and intersect lines with exactness on points given at great distances in which process much difficulties was incuntered on account of the great encumbering of timber cut down in every direction the which the proprietor are aware to preserve and unwilling to remove and most consequently increase obstacles in a way to a degree

as I am well convinced will in the end cause me the regret of falling much short from what I proposed and what is indeed most essential to perform previous a sale take place.

brought to the point as matters do now stand enough is done to satisfy every one of an earnestness in the process of execution—and the spots assigned for the Federal House and for the President palace in exhibiting the most sumptuous aspect and claiming already the suffrage of a crowd of daily visitors both natives and foreigner will serve to give a grand idea of the whole, but nevertheless it is to be wished more may be done to favour a sale—this being to serve very little towards evidencing the beauties of local reserved for private settlements all being absolutely lost in the chaos of felled timber without possibility to judge of the advantages of relative conveniency much less of agreement, to be derived from improvements intended in a surrounding local of which but few can form an idea even after inspecting a map.

The grand avenue connecting both the palace and the Federal House will be most magnificent and most convenient, the streets running west of the upper square of the Federal House and which terminate in an easy slope on the canal through the tiber which it will overlook for the space of about two mile will be beautifull above what may be imagined—those other streets parallel to that canal, those crossing over it and which are as many avenues to the grand walk from the water cascade under the Federal House to the President park and dependinly extending to the bank of the Potowmack, and also the several squares or area such as are intended for the Judiciary Court—the national bank—the grand church—the play house—market and exchange—all through will offer a varie-

ty of situation unparalleled in point of beauties—suitable to every purpose and in every point convenient both are devised for the first offset of the city and combined to command the height price in a sale.

but as I observed before these advantages lost in the lumbering of the local and not being possible to be made perceptible within the short period left—a sale at a moment so premature will not bring the ten part of what it will at some more suitable season after a rough hewn of the proposed Improvements may help to the better appreciating of the merits of situation.

besides a sale made previous the general plan of distribution of the city is made publique and before the circumstance of that sale taking place has had time to be known through the whole continent will not call a sufficient concurrence and most be confined to few Individuals speculating wanting means or inclination to improve and the consequence of a low sale in this first instance may prove injurious to the subsequent ones by serving as precedents to undervalue the remaining lots at so much less in proportion to the lessening of advantage of situation—on another part I apprehend the undersaling of lots far from promoting a speedy settlement and as many people argue of gaining friend to the establishment in inducing influential men in those as may continue opposed to it to become interested in the prices—will rather disgrace the whole business.

it will I am convinced favor schemes already encouraged in consequence of the medrocity of the deposit required—it will favour the plotting of a number of designing men whom in Georgetown in particular are more active than ever and use of every means to set themselves in a situation to cross the operation of the plan adopted—and whom in concert with society form-

ing in Baltimore and in other places unfriendly promise to engross the most of the sale and master the whole business.

with those apprehension and seeing on another part nothing to be gained from a sale which at best if taking place this season will only be making the transfer of a most valuable property into the hand of speculator without a prospect even of deriving from it a mean to engage with any security in the intended work to whose first demand a fund resting on the produce of a deposit most prove inadequate.

I conceive the postponing of that sale a measure which will be most expedient and advantageous to the business, as it is constant but people really inclined to purchase and earnestly disposed to Erect houses will not be on this account dissuaded from their coming on the spot tho for the instant disappointed in the object giving them a better idea of the local would I presume rather serve to prompt them to greater exertion and the idea which they will carry back most greatly serve to Influence other to come and to increase a competition for lots as the time when the sale may be put off.

this measure in some respect forced by circumstances may I presume take place consistantly by alleging the fact of an impossibility of having matter ready for it—owing to the necessity of taking the previous and necessary steps of making an equal division of property between the individual owner and the public.

the impossibility of doing this will not only result from the difficulties encountered in the mesuration of lots but will most evidently from a circumstance not yet mentioned of the proprietor of territory having not returned the survey of their possession as was repeatedly required of them and which they declined to do

until disputes arose among them respecting to boundary are settled. this not likely to be so soon done most preclud for some time from making the necessary division of property and will prevent the dividing of a mode to effect that of those lots which will be found laid across the lines of two or three different territory which most be frequent on account of the hisavory way the whole property is intermingled.

Convinced no time will be found lost for to procure the necessary accomodation for Congress my intimacy with plans already forming relating to establishment on the Eastern branch—on the proposed canal and in various other parts made me not esitate in aserting that settlements will soon be spread through—provided a due attention is given to the carrying on and speedily in every part of those improvements as are combined convenance and agreableness of those most distant situation as they are meant to lead to the sumptousness of the more central.—when I observe—provided a due attention is given it is because notwithstanding I indulge the Idea of seeing soon the progress of the establishment become the wonder of all, I am sensible of the consequences of a scheek its progress may receive and am well persuaded that Individual exertions will wait the signal and model their process on the sperit with the which the publique business shall be conducted.

it being therefore essential to begin well and with an assurance of continuing with a progressive degree of activity to be had—considering that a relaxation of motion would greatly more injure the business than will a delay in mouving I to this effect—under the head of publick territory conceive it important not to confine the Idea to the erecting of a Congress House and a Presidential palace other exertions being necessary to prompt and enlarge private undertaking.

them alone can form the establishment enswearable to its objects, and to rise the city a city in fact it is indispensable to consider every of the improvements proposed in the plan as being part most essential to the framing of principal and however differential and in-connected as they may appear to effect them at a same time and with a proportional degree of dispatch.

it is most essential to push with the utmost activity every improvement as may serve to marcantile Interest the canal through the tiber across to the eastern branch were an additional branch of it is marked in the plan, is of absolute necessity to determine and Insure a speedy settlement in that part were it is most desirable to help the conveying of material to the tow grand edifice.

the making of the publik walk from under the federal House as far as it is carried on the potomac and connected with the palace is an object which so ever trivial as it may appear to the eyes of many will be productive of as much advantage as the first mentioned objects in giving to the City at its first offset a superiority of agreements over most of the city of the world as it will gaine one over them all in point of convenience of distribution after bringing the various Squares or area to their Intended shape and giving a regular and well combined stop to and leveling every grand avenu and principle streets—beginning with the most transversal and were settlements are most essential—not however ending them were house end but indiscriminately extending those improvements all over adulterating them on those parts the less attractive to prompt settlements thereon.—no need being of hastening to encourage them on more advantageous situation—the which it may be well to preserve until the great rise of their value make it worth the sacrifice.

these idea already held to your consideration and the which met your approval at the first beginning of the business—having directed my attention in divising a plan of distribution of local as I conceived to be the best calculated to this effect made me consider an appropriation of the several squares as one proposed in the plan to be allotted to each of the individual states as also the making of a free donation to every particular religious society of a ground for House of wors'h a move from which Infinite advantage most result.

each of these Establishments tho probably small at first being equally distended and near situated I will by a gradual accrossment soon connect and will from their beginning form a chain of Improvement round the principle part of the city which will extend by a scatering of settlement all along of those transversal and divergent avenues were none of them will be lost nor will be to distant from the Federal House or the President Palace.

Betwixt these tow Edifices in the streets from the Grand avenu to the Palace toward the canal there will be a proper stand for shop—for mechanic and every people in various business, and the stimulate to builh houses in those part being so great it is not to be doubted that they will be erected contiguous to each other and in a short time will increase to a number sufficient to afford a convenience in the intercourse of business and to procure proper accommodation to Congress member and every officer and other people attached to the executive.

A marche so wholly different from the ordinary way of forming a town it is presumable will meet with your opos'n and be much objected to by people who will compute the accussement of towns existing with and

draw Inference from them in concluding against the plan I propose.

it will also—as far as it may affect speculation on publick property encite many to disclaim against, but upon the whole every objection as may tend to a contraction of the operation of the systeme most likely to arise from people interested in lowering the value of property or perhaps lead from motives whose good intent to the whole business may be questioned I am in hope people actuated from more independent principle will consider and that however prejudice may blind them on the advantages while they Enumerate the Inconveniency in their Idea likely to result from the process—they will own that a success in the attainment of the end the systeme is combined to promote would be most prosperous. and confident in that success I feel the more encouraged to submit my Idea thereon to your judgment.

as to the question as to what are the means necessary and how to secure them I will observe that those means must be extensive proportioned to the magnitude of the undertaking and that so ever large as I conceive they ought to be I consider the property at your disposal fully proportionate to the object if attention is given in managing it

15,000 lots will fall in the share of the publick as half of the property left for improvements after deduction made of streets and of ground appropriated to publick property—these lots will be of various sise from 66 ft. to 37 in front and from 4 to 7 in an acre—the sum that will arise from the sale most be immense but as I observed it will only be if cautiously managed. for notwithstanding the amount of them lots most be Enormous, I fear that under this Idea and when undervaluing the Magnitude of the work proposed it may in-

duce to a prodigality of those means in saling on low terms the most valuable proof of lots a circumstance which would in my opinion prove as destructive to the attainment of the grand object as would a contraction of measure determined after a timorous survey of the mass of the undertaking the which is offering a labyrinth of difficulties would soon magnify them to a diffidence of power to surmount.

therefore it is of importance the whole matter should be contemplated coolly and to be even short of the time left to effect it may appear not be hurried in to process nor to engage in it but after having secured effectual mean to supply the daily expenditure.

those means at your disposal were proportioned to the object and I consider them so if other means are first secured to rise the property to its proper value.

for to look upon that property at this moment as a mean of supply and to use of this mean to defray the first expenditure of the beginning of the work would indeed be to expunge all resources before the moment is come for availing of them.

because admitting the disadvantageous terms of the sale is advertized as may be altered and were supposing the sale to be productive from the beginning the produce must be various and a fund nearly depending on it will never injure a timely supply to daily expenditure a circumstance which would necessitate a frequent change in the mode of conducting matter, would delay the progress of work begun consequently occasion a loss and a misapplication of means and of time which in the course of every grand undertaking but most unavoidably in one of the magnitude of that under consideration would work a dissipation of every means to an absolute disappointment in the object to attain.

from these consideration a better security of funds being necessary to combine a plan of operation the good of which can only be inferred aided by punctual payments and regular and plentiful supply of materials it is well expedient first to devise the necessary means considering that économie in a pursuit of this nature lay in being aided with mercenary hands with the power of pouring means there were they may accelerate the leveling of difficulties frequent to encounter.

Viewing matter in this light and being convinced money is the principal wheel to give and continue the motion to the machine left to organize I shall make it the object of this address to call your attention on the advantages which may be expected from borrowing a sum on the credit of the property itself.

under the facility of a loan no hurry being to dispose of the lots since a possibility may be for the public to erect houses for private accomodation which would be a measure but expedient and beneficial—it will become possible to appropriate a sum to each particular object to perform and to carry on a regularly and at a same time every of those object forwarding them yearly in proportion to the money allotted for them respectively

in that way every improvement may be easily completed and without being restrained by little saving consideration they may be carried through the whole city Indiscriminately aiding and assisting every private undertaking were a reciprocity of benefit may ensue.—a mode of process which I may venture to assert would in the end bring three to one for the money they liberally expended and which heighly repaying for a loan on what ever terms it might be obtained would by rising the reputation of the undertaking to a degree of splendor and greatness unprecedented contribute most ef-

fectually to the increase of population to the accrissment of comerce and would in a short time rise the City one of the first the world will contain.

it is in this manner and in this manner only I conceive the business may be conducted to a certainty of the attainment of that success. I wished to promot in the delination of a plan wholly new and which combined on a grand scale will require exertions above what is the idea of many but the which not being beyond your power to procur made me promise the securing of them, as I remain assured you will conceive it essential to pursue with dignity the operation of an undertaking of a magnitude so worthy of the concern of a grand empire in the compleat achievement of the which the Honor of this is become so eminently concern and over whose progress the eyes of every other nation envying the opportunity denyed them will stand judge.

I have the Honor to be with respect and submission,
Your most humble obedient servant,

P. C. L'ENFANT.

Per

The President of the United States.

EARLY MAPS AND SURVEYORS
OF THE
CITY OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Read before the Society, Feb. 18, 1895]

By John Stewart.

Washington City came into existence by an Act of Congress, begun and held at the City of New York, on Monday, the 4th day of January, 1790, entitled, "An

Act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States," in which, among other things, it was enacted:

"That a district or territory not exceeding ten miles square, to be located, as hereafter directed, on the River Potomac, at some place between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and Connogocheque, be, and the same is hereby, accepted for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States." * * *

"That the President of the United States be authorized to appoint, and by supplying vacancies happening from refusal to act, or other causes, to keep in appointment as long as may be necessary, three Commissioners, who, or any two of them, shall, under the direction of the President, survey, and by proper metes and bounds, define and limit, a district of territory under the limitations above mentioned. And the district so defined, limited, and located, shall be deemed the district accepted by this act for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States."

Under virtue of the above-recited Act of Congress, approved July 16, 1790, the President of the United States, by letters patent, bearing date the 22d day of January, 1791, appointed Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, and David Stuart, of Virginia, Commissioners. In a letter by President Washington to Colonel William Dickens, of Georgetown, dated March 2, 1791, he states, "an eminent French military engineer starts for Georgetown to examine and survey the site of the Federal city."

The talented and memorable Major Peter Charles L'Enfant, formerly a French engineer officer, who had served honorably under General Washington during the Revolutionary War, was at this time established in a very profitable business as a civil engineer in the

city of New York. Messrs Andrew and Benjamin Elliott and Isaac Roberdeau, as assistants, arrived at Georgetown on February 4, 1791. Their pay commenced on that day.

L'Enfant says, "That through President Washington's urgent desire to devote his entire energy to fix the site, prepare the plan, and undertake the engineering of the Federal City, he gave up his business, his fortune, in New York City, without a thought of compensation, owing to his confidence in the President." He arrived at Georgetown on March 9, 1791, and immediately set to work making a general survey of the territory and preparing a voluminous report to the Executive, in which he pointed out that "the water-side, from the mouth of the Eastern Branch at Carroll borough, as far up as Evans Point, a distance of above three miles, the frequent winding of the shore from many natural wet dock which, for not having everywhere a great depth of water, nevertheless could become very convenient for the establishing of naval store and for arsenals, the which, as well as warehouse for merchantmen, might safely be raised on the water edge without fear of impeding the prospect from on the Heigh flat behind—there were the level ground on the water and all round were it descend, but most particularly on that part terminating in a ridge to Jenkins' Hill, and running in a parallel with and at half mile off from the River Potowmack, separated by a low ground intersected with three grand streams. Many of the most desirable positions offer for to erect the publique edifices thereon. From these height every grand building would rear with a majestick aspect over the country all round and might be advantageously seen from twenty miles off, while contiguous to the first settlement of the city they would there stand to

ages in a center point to it, facing on the grandest prospect, of both of the branch of Potowmack with the town of Alexandry in front, seen in its fullest extent over many points of land projecting from the Mareland and Virginia shore in a manner as add much to the prospective at the end of which the cape of Great Hunting Creek appear directly were a corner stone (No. 1) of the Federal District is to be placed, and in the room of which a majestick Colum or a grand Peysamid being erected would produce the happiest effect and compleatly finish the landskape. These in every respect advantageously situated the Federal City would soon grew of itself and spread as the branches of a tree toward where they met with most nourishment. * * * having a bridge laid over the Eastern branch some were above Evans pt. there the natural limit of the eastern branch may be extended while in its western extrimity may be included Georgetown itself which being situated at the head of Grand navigation of the Potowmack should be favoured with same advantage of a better communication with the southern by having also a bridge erected over the Potowmack at the place of the two Sisters where nature would effectually favor the undertaking.

then between those two points begining the settlement of the Grand City on the bank of the eastern branch and promoting the first improvement all along of the Heigh flat as far as were it end on Jenkins' Hill would place the City Central to the ground left open to its aggrandisement which most undoubtedly would be rapid toward both extremity, provided nevertheless that attention be paid immediately on laying the first out line of the establishment to open a direct and large avenue from the bridge on the Potowmack to that on

the eastern branch the which should be well level passing a cross Georgetown and over the most advantageous ground for prospect through the grand city, with a wide way paved for heavy carriage and walk, on each side planted with double rows of trees," drawing the President's attention to many other natural existing formations of land and water, requiring but little expense to make the site of a Federal City on the Potomac River, between the Eastern Branch and Georgetown, proportionate to the greatness of a city where the Capitol of a powerful Empire ought to exist.

On June 22, 1791, he stated to the Executive: "In framing the plan here annexed for the intended Federal City * * * my whole attention was given to the contribution of the general distribution of the ground local, as to an object of the most immediate moment, and have in consequence to solicit your indulgence in submitting my ideas in an incomplete drawing, only correct as to the situation and distances of objects. * * * I next made the distribution regular, with streets at right angles, north-south and east-west; but afterwards I opened others on various directions as avenues to and from every principle place, to which they will serve as does the main veins in the animal body to diffuse life through smaller vessels in quickening the active motion to the heart."

In this and in his first report he recommends as sites for the United States Capitol and for the President's Palace, the grounds whereon those buildings now stand. He submitted this report to the President at Georgetown.

On August 19, 1791, L'Enfant wrote the President, saying: "The highest of my ambition gratified in having met with your approbation in the project of the plan which I have now the honor of presenting to you,

altered agreeable to your directions." This was his second plan, and he prepared an exact copy of it on a larger scale, which was designated, "L'Enfant's Large Outline Plan (a) of the City." (See p. 53.) It was used by the surveyors in laying out the city, and from it was copied the plan from which the first sale of city lots was made, on the 17th, 18th and 19th of October, 1791. This copy (b) comprehended all the squares and numbered (a, p. 57) within K street on the north, F street on the south, 21st street on the west, 16th and 17th streets on the east, from Pennsylvania avenue. He employed Stephen Hallet, an architect in Philadelphia, (the first architect of the United States Capitol), to draught a copy of his said large plan, which, with an essay on the city prepared by himself, he was to have published in Paris, expecting large returns from its sale.

On September 9, 1791, the Commissioners wrote Major L'Enfant, stating: "We have agreed that the Federal District shall be called 'The Territory of Columbia,' and the Federal city 'The City of Washington.' The title of the map will therefore be, 'A Map of the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia.'

"We have also agreed the streets be named alphabetically one way and numerically the other, the former into north and south letters, the latter into east and west numbers from the Capitol. Mr Ellicott will soon furnish you the soundings of the waters, to be incerted in the map. If you have no contrary directions, we wish about 10,000 of the maps to be struck on the best terms and as soon as possible."

September 21, 1791, L'Enfant was requested to have sufficient clay for 3,000,000 brick taken out from the foundations of the Capitol and President's house.

September 24, 1791, L'Enfant was instructed to direct three hundred copies of his plan of the Federal City to be transmitted to such parts of the Northern States as he may think proper.

October 22, 1791, L'Enfant is requested to search along the lands near the Potomac river for three acres of land, well stored with free-stone, and to purchase the same for the United States. He accordingly selected and purchased Wiggington's Island, on Aquia Run, County of Stafford, Va., on December 2, 1791, which contains twelve acres, and is still Government property.

It was his second plan that President Washington laid before Congress on December 13, 1791. L'Enfant was instructed by the President to clear away all obstructions in the way of his surveying lines. Mr Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, commenced to build a house directly upon one of the principal lines, and L'Enfant notified the builder that such was the case, and intimated that should the house be built, he would order it taken down. The house was partly built, but L'Enfant kept his word, and did have it taken down on Tuesday, the 22d of November, 1791, and having done so without consulting the Board of Commissioners, they became so indignant and gave such great annoyance to the President on account of that action as to cause L'Enfant to sever his official connection with the city on March 6, 1792. L'Enfant withheld his plan until the President prevailed upon him to take it to the engravers, and to superintend the work of its engraving. Respecting the publication of this engraving, he says: "After I generously permitted the completing of the engraving and had lent manuscript drafts, as were said wanting for correction, those manuscripts were detained. Finding my name erased from the title of

the map at the moment of publication, and leaving stand on it that of my assistants, I refused the revisal of the proofs in printing." Here ended his actions in connection with the beautiful city of his superb design. Who can say that Major Peter Charles L'Enfant's propositions of 1791 for embellishing the City of Washington, D. C., within its original limits, have not been carried out in course down to and in the year of our Lord, 1898?

We are glad that though the mighty empire, which he delighted to mention, has refused to rest his bones in a respectable cemetery, and mark his grave with a decent head-stone, there is a nobler monument still expanding—the Capital of his said empire, that will be more lasting to his honor than one of any other construction.

At the time when L'Enfant withheld his plan, his former assistant, Mr Ellicott, went to Philadelphia, and, with the assistance of his two brothers, prepared another plan of the city from a copy he had of L'Enfant's. He wrote the Commissioners, February 23, 1792, saying: "Major L'Enfant refused us the use of the original plan; what his motives were, God knows. The plan which we have furnished, I believe, will be found to answer the ground better than the large one in the Major's hands." This plan of Ellicott's was given to Samuel Blodget, Jr., to have it engraved at the City of Boston, and it was engraved there by a Samuel Hill in 1792; a proof-sheet of it was sent to Secretary of State Jefferson at Philadelphia, who wrote to the Commissioners on July 11, 1792, saying: "I now send a proof-sheet of the plan of the town engraving at Boston. I observe the soundings of the creek and river are not in it. It would be well to know of Mr Ellicott whether they were on the original sent to Boston. If

not, you will probably think it desirable to insert in this proof-sheet and send it to Boston, addressed to Mr. Blodget, under whose care the engraving is going on." Mr. Ellicott, having admitted that he did not show the soundings upon his plan, was directed to insert them upon the proof-sheet; but prior to returning the proof-sheet to Boston, the engraving was received by Mr. Jefferson, and his soundings were never inserted therein.

The explanatory reference on L'Enfant's 1792 Philadelphia engraving, in which Ellicott's name is given, was placed there by L'Enfant, who placed his own name in its legend, stating, "By Peter Charles L'Enfant." By withholding the legend, and continuing the reference, assistant Ellicott has been honored at the expense of his superior, and confirming that honor by placing the same reference on his own Boston engraving.

The L'Enfant Philadelphia engraving was first sold at 4s. 8½d., and Ellicott's Boston engraving at 2s. 6d., showing which of the two was the better.

As many people believe, and as many affirm, that the city was originally surveyed and laid out from the 1792 Philadelphia engraving, I would say that said engraved map was only a guide or rule of action for laying off the city and to show the world how it was to be laid out, in avenues, streets and buildings, and that there existed a special large plan (b, p. 56) prepared on the same design and prior to that engraving, as already stated, and in proof thereof are the following references: March 14, 1792, Stephen Hallet prepared a reduction copy upon silk from L'Enfant's great plan. (a, p. 55.) Mr. Ellicott states on October 13, 1792, "Square No. 128 on original (b, p. 56) L'Enfant plan, is designated No. 166 on engraved plans now in

circulation, that square was divided (October 19, 1791) according to the number on Major L'Enfant's large plan." (a, p. 55.)

March 13, 1793, the Commissioners requested Mr. Ellicott to return "the plan of the outlines of the city." (a, p. 55.)

On April 9, 1793, they ordered that the "Outline plan to work by" be delivered in their office. It was delivered there by Mr. Ellicott on same date. (a, p. 55.) Mr. Ellicott says, in his letter dated June 17, 1793, "The plan from which we work"; and Isaac Briggs and Ben. Ellicott, in their letter dated September 20, 1793, say, "We can give the number of squares in the city from 'General Outline, or large Plan, from which we work.'" (a, p. 55.)

"Mr Andrew Ellicott having run a line from the Court-house, Alexandria, due southwest an half a mile, and thence southeast to Hunting Creek, to the beginning of the four lines of experiment." "The Commissioners, on April 15, 1791, attended by the surveyor and a large concourse of spectators at Jones' Point, and fixed a stone (No. 1, p. 51) at the same place, it being the beginning of the four lines of experiment." On June 6, 1792, Mr Ellicott was ordered to lay out the lines of the District of Columbia.

On January 1st, 1793, he submitted to the Commissioners "a report with his first map of the four lines of experiment, showing an half a mile on each side, including the district of territory, with a survey of the different waters within the territory."

The Commissioners sent a revised copy of this report and the plat to the President, who returned the plat for the purpose of having additions proposed by him shown thereon, and when so altered it was returned to the President, February 11, 1793.

Messrs Andrew, Joseph and Benjamin Ellicott and Isaac Briggs, all surveyors of Washington City, were laying off the permanent lines of the District of Columbia, and paid \$1,050.00 for that work on January 22, 1793.

Mr Andrew Ellicott, being L'Enfant's chief assistant, succeeded to the position of head of the surveying department immediately on L'Enfant's resignation; and when original proprietor, Davy Burns, designated him "the Surveyor-General, with a number of letters to his name," was a fully qualified surveyor, as is evident from L'Enfant's statement of his work as given on L'Enfant's engraved Philadelphia Plan of 1792, and from the other public surveys he had done in other parts of the United States. He had five assistant surveyors (two of them were his own brothers, Benjamin and Joseph Ellicott; the others were Isaac Briggs, George Fenwick, and James R. Dermott), with the necessary assistants for each surveyor. Of the surveyors named, it is of importance to introduce the last-named, James R. Dermott, who, prior to his becoming a city surveyor, was a professor of some institution of learning in the city of Alexandria, Va. He was highly recommended by one of the Commissioners, Dr. D. Stuart, and was appointed on March 24, 1792. Soon thereafter the Surveyor-General stated to the Commissioners that Dermott was the best and readiest calculator he had ever met. However, in the early fall of that same year he was sent by Andrew Ellicott in charge of a few colored men to cut down trees and brush on Pennsylvania avenue, and in a few days he was discharged. Dermott met Dr Stuart in Virginia shortly thereafter, to whom he said: "I have been discharged, and I am glad of it, for the reason of the imperfect surveying work now being done in Washington." The

doctor requested him to make that statement before the Board, but this he did not do until a second request had been made of him by the doctor, and then an investigation of the survey work was instituted. Several squares that had been returned were resurveyed, and none of them were found correct, and the Commissioners say, "Some squares were returned that never were measured." For said reasons, Mr Ellicott, with all his assistants, was discharged on March 12, 1793.

On April 9, 1793, the Commissioners prepared new rules for the Surveying Department, by which each surveyor was to delineate on a slip of paper each separate square surveyed by him, to state thereon the name of each street fronting that square, and to enter the length of each side of that square in lineal feet and fractions of inches, with date and his signature. These attested slips were designated "surveyors' returns." The city was to be surveyed in sections varying in size, as the Commissioners might order from time to time, those so surveyed embracing one hundred squares in some cases and two hundred and three hundred in others. The "returns" of these sections were drawn on "section" sheets of paper, on the scale of 200 feet to an inch, and, together with the small slips or "surveyors' returns," were sent to the office of the Commissioners, where we again find Professor Dermott, who would from the "surveyors' returns" prepare another section plan, and this he would compare with the section plan received from the field. If he discovered any difference between the two he would report it to the Commissioners; and when correct or corrected, his was to become a large plat, which was to be considered as a record. (That plan is on file in City Surveyor's Office.) He also divided each square into lots on a sheet of foolscap paper, on a scale of 40 feet to an inch; these were

signed by the Commissioners and the original proprietors, and designated "divisions of squares;" each standard lot was to contain 5,265 square feet, and he was to keep in methodical order all calculations of lots. The surveying formerly done was resurveyed, so that the surveying proper commenced April 9, 1793.

Mr Andrew Ellicott was finally discharged on July 19, 1793, having acted for only three months and ten days at the final resurvey of the city. He was succeeded on that date by Isaac Briggs and Benjamin and Joseph Ellicott, who, as the Commissioners aver, continued, as Mr Andrew Ellicott had previously done, charging all their own mistakes to Professor Dermott's gross ignorance and wickedness, and because the Commissioners did not discharge Dermott they said that he had stolen a copy of L'Enfant's map, and, without the Commissioners' knowledge, advertised in a newspaper, offering \$5.00 to stop the thief, and for the apprehension of Dermott. The plan referred to being on file during this time in the office of the Commissioners, they discharged Mr Briggs on November 2, 1793, and also Benjamin and Joseph Ellicott on January 28, 1794.

On December 17, 1793, the Commissioners wrote, in reply to Mr Andrew Ellicott, stating, "We have had no intercourse with the President or Mr Jefferson on the Plate or Map of the Territory, and decline going into that business with which we have nothing to do."

On August 30, 1792, the Commissioners directed Surveyor George Fenwick to set up stones at certain distances in the north and south and east and west lines, from which the city was laid out. On March 25, 1794, they also requested the said Mr Fenwick to have a large stone lettered "The beginning of the Territory of Columbia," prepared and fixed at the beginning of the

territory, in the presence of some of the gentlemen who were present at the fixing of the small stone now there. (No. 1, p. 51—p. 57.)

Surveyor Thomas Freeman succeeded Benjamin and Joseph Ellicott on March 25, 1794. He reported, June 21, 1794, having carefully adjusted the center of North and South Capitol streets by planting four cut stones in that line, and that he had planted a large stone at Jones' Point in the presence of two gentlemen (Col. Marsteller and one other), who were present at the planting of a small temporary boundary in the same place. This large stone had cut on it, "The beginning of the Territory of Columbia," showing that the present stone, lettered as stated, is not the original stone placed there on April 15, 1791.

Freeman reported on July 4, 1795, that the surveying of the city had been completed on the 25th of the preceding month (June 25, 1795), and that he had fixed at Rock Creek, in the road leading from Georgetown to Bladensburg, where a small temporary boundary stood, a large stone lettered, "First Boundary of the City of Washington." "And from thence run a street 80 feet wide, which bounds the city to the second boundary; the north side thereof runs in the center of the road; this street I produced to the third boundary, where it falls into Fifteenth street east, and with part of Fifteenth and C streets north, completes a street which bounds the city from Rock Creek to the Eastern Branch; the north side of the boundary stones stand in the north line of the street, so that these stones stand in the city." * * *

On June 15, 1795, the Commissioners "ordered James R. Dermott to prepare a plat of the city, with every public appropriation plainly and distinctly delineated, together with the appropriation now made by the

Board for the National University and Mint." This is the plan which was to be annexed to President Washington's official instrument, dated March 2, 1797, and was afterward so annexed by President John Adams, on July 23, 1798. It was designated by the Commissioners as the "Appropriation Map." This map shows 132 more building squares in the city than either L'Enfant's or Ellicott's engraved maps. Of this map Commissioners Scott, Thornton and White say to the President of the United States, "The Dermott map is the evidence of public property in the city." Many experts of the present day affirmed that it was prepared by Ellicott, until I produced the evidence given on the new issue of that map.

On the completion of the city surveying, June 25, 1795, Surveyor Thomas Freeman was required to take the levels of the city. He completed that work on section plans copied from Dermott's large 1793-5 map, and resigned office July 7, 1796.

On December 1, 1796, President Washington wrote the Commissioners: "A university was never contemplated by Major L'Enfant in the plan of the city, which was laid before Congress; it had its rise from another source. This plan you shall receive by the first safe hand who may be going to the Federal City. By it you may discover (tho. almost obliterated) the directions given to the engravers by Mr. Jefferson with a pencil, what parts to omit." On December 5, 1796, the Commissioners, replying to the President, say: "We have received L'Enfant's plan of the city." There are several recorded references to this plan as being on file in the Commissioners' office at different times down to recent years. I found it there in 1873, and it is still there in 1898, and is now 107 years old.

Freeman was succeeded by Nicholas King on September 21, 1796, who prepared a "large map of Water street," extending from Rock Creek eastward to appropriation No. 13, where the present jail stands. That map he lodged in the office of the Commissioners on March 8, 1797. He resigned office in favor of his father, Robert King, Sr., on September 12, 1797, who was appointed on the same day.

James Reed Dermott, whose actions were highly approved of by all the Commissioners for six years of active service in connection with surveying and draughting the plats of the city, quitted the City Surveyor's office January 2, 1798. When Robert King, Sr., became the only existing City Surveyor, many houses were being built in different parts of the city, causing the duties of the office to be more than Mr. King could properly manage. He used that as his reason for asking the Commissioners to appoint his son Robert as assistant surveyor. He was appointed as such on July 1, 1800. Robert, Jr., prepared a map of the section of ground fronting the present State Department and Seventeenth street, showing the lot that was to be conveyed to the Queen of Portugal; it is signed "R King," and dated August, 1798. This plan is in the office of the Oldest Inhabitants' Association of this city.

The Commissioners state in their Journal of Proceedings, under date of May 4, 1802: "Report received from Robert King with an altered map of the city in conformity to the directions of the Board, and according to the large map of Water street." Both Robert King, Sr., and Jr., resigned office August 13, 1802. Nicholas King, the other son of Robert King, Sr., was appointed a second time as City Surveyor, about June 1, 1803. In the office of Public Buildings and Grounds there is a large portfolio, comprising sixteen sheets, the legend

of which is: "The King plats of the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia," and upon its first page or sheet is: "Plan of the City of Washington, laid down agreeably to the Surveyors' Returns, by Nicholas King, S. C. W., 1803." I am obliged to say that Nicholas King could not prepare such a portfolio during the time he was in office, in the year 1803. There are upon record no instructions to him to prepare such a map. I have identified the draughting of it as the work of Robert King, Jr., and said on the witness stand that I believed it was the map received by the Commissioners from Robert King on May 4, 1802.

A few of the leveling sections of the city bear the name of Nicholas King, but the sections themselves were prepared in 1795-6 by Thomas Freeman, who was in office prior to Nicholas King, who died in office on May 12, 1812, and was succeeded by his brother, Robert, on May 21, 1812, who was in office till June 1, 1821.

Having failed to recover the Boston plate, and being unable to procure a printed copy of it, I obtained the loan of one of its original prints, and had it photographed, on which, as stated, "there are no soundings shown upon it," and furthermore it is, as said of it by Mr Ellicott, "smaller than L'Enfant's."

The Philadelphia plate has the soundings upon it, and it is deposited at the United States Coast Survey Office.

The next engraved map of the city is designated the "Robert King Map of the City of Washington." It has upon it the following legend: "A map of the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia, established as the permanent Seat of Government of the United States of America. Taken from actual survey, as laid out on the ground. By Robert King, Surveyor of the

City of Washington. Entered according to act of Congress. Engraved by C. Schwarz, Washn."

The earliest reference to this map that I have yet seen is the statement that a package numbered four, containing a copy of it, was placed in the cavity of the foundation corner stone of the City Hall, on August 22, 1820.

The next engraved map of the city is DeKraft's, which is dated 1833. And the next is a printed map of the District of Columbia, by Wm. Eliot, dated 1837.

In reference to the next I quote from the Congressional Globe, Vol. 24, Part 2, 1st Sess., 32d Cong., 1851-2, folio 1362:

"Mr Douglas submitted the following resolution, which was agreed to:

"Resolved, That the Secretary cause the maps of the District of Columbia and City of Washington, and the plats of the squares and lots in the city of Washington, heretofore printed under an order of the Senate, to be bound."

On perusal of this resolution, and having seen the said bound document, a desire became urgent to find where were the engraved copper plates used in printing it. After a continuous searching for two years I was rewarded with success and deposited them in the U. S. Coast Survey Office. The copper plate used in printing Mr Ellicott's Boston plan of the City of Washington appearing in said document, and now in the Coast and Geodetic Survey Office, is an imperfect reproduction of the original plate.

The large plans of Water street, in twelve sheets, prepared by Nicholas King in 1797, being the best plans for defining Water street, were, with many other city plans, taken out of the Commissioners' office before I became custodian there. These large plans were

required for important Government purposes, but they could not be produced; ultimately I succeeded in obtaining them from a gentleman who took them out of the office twenty-six years prior to returning them.

There is also a lithographed map of the city; its legend is: "Map of the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia, showing the lines of the various Properties at the Division with the Original Proprietors in 1792. Copyrighted by James M. Stewart, Washington, D. C., 1884." Many other maps might be introduced, but, as Mr Marcus Baker has given such a full list of them in a previous paper, I deem those alone mentioned will suffice for the present.

I desire to state that there is one record book missing, which I am, as yet, unable to recover, and I take the liberty of referring to it in your presence, in the hope that by your valuable assistance it may be obtained and returned to where it rightly belongs. It is the second volume of the Commissioners' daily proceedings, containing accounts of their actions from August 31, 1795, to October 24, 1796, in which the minutes of the meetings of the Commissioners are regularly entered and signed by them, "Gustavus Scott, William Thornton, and Alexander White, Commissioners."

The number of various old section plans of Washington City now in existence are:

Eleven in office of Commissioner of Public Buildings.

Eleven in office of the Oldest Inhabitants of the City.

Thirty-three in office of the City Surveyor.

Fifty-one in the Peter Force Collection in the U. S. Congressional Library.

Making in all 106.

I desire to correct some imperfect statements lately appearing in public print, and for that reason I state, first, that a Mr William Elliott, a civil engineer, emi-

grated from England in the year 1810 to the city of Washington, where he became known as a celebrated teacher of algebra and mathematics. He was appointed to a position in the Pension Office of the War Department, and being commissioned by the President of the United States to fix the longitude of the Capitol from Greenwich, England, on April 10, 1821, he resigned his position in the Pension Office on the 30th of that month, and completed his instrumental Celestial observations for the longitude on February 21, 1822. (Its calculations were made by Wm. Lambert.) He built a frame house for a private observatory at the rear of his dwelling in March, 1824,* and on April 2, 1824, he was engaged running a meridian line to the north of his observatory. He was appointed surveyor of the city of Washington in 1832, and continued in that office till his death in 1837.

The first United States Naval Observatory was brought into existence chiefly by the efforts of the said Mr William Elliott. Lieut. L. M. Goldsborough, U. S. N., was the first officer who was placed in charge of that office in the Navy Department, in the year 1830. Lieut. Goldsborough was succeeded in that year by Lieut. Wilkes, U. S. N., who obtained permission from the Naval Commissioners to remove the Observatory office to a small frame building on a high elevation that was located at the rear of Mr William Elliott's residence, No. 222 North Capitol street, situated on the west side between B and C streets, and N. 5 degrees 0 minutes W., 1,200 feet (nearly) from the center of the Capitol, being the same observatory as was built by Mr Ellicott in March, 1824.

* From his notes, in possession of his granddaughter, Miss E. Elliott, 216 North Capitol St.

Lieut. Wilkes was succeeded by Lieut. James M. Gilliss, U. S. N., in the year 1838, and continued in charge of the observatory till 1842. In April, 1841, he erected a massy obelisk of sandstone, 18 feet high and 14 inches square at the top, for a meridian mark, from the Observatory on Capitol Hill. It was located on the Beall property, 74 feet (nearly) west of the line of the west side of North Capitol street, and 35 feet (nearly) south of the line of the south side of North R street. It was originally designated the "Gillis Obelisk." Its sandstone material is now lying on the ground around its former position.*

Second—"The first Meridian of the United States" intersects the center of the north and south basement doors of the President's house, as stated in Nicholas King's report, dated October 15, 1804, which is merely a report prepared by him at the date it bears, describing how the said meridian was established on September 20, 1793. He distinctly states in his said report, "In running the meridian line and fixing the several points on that line with temporary posts driven in the ground, I acted only in the capacity of assistant, conforming entirely to the instructions of Mr Briggs."

* * * This Mr Briggs became one of the chief surveyors of the city, July 19, 1793, and was discharged November 2, 1793.

In December, 1804, Nicholas King was the only surveyor of the city, and adds the confirmation, "It devolves on me to describe the mode pursued in ascertaining the line, the required intersections and replacing the temporary posts set in the ground with stone and pier." Doubtless for the purpose stated in his sec-

* I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor Wm. Harkness, U. S. N., Director of the U. S. Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C., for the above statement.

and endorsement, i. e., "To be filed in the office of state as a record of the demarkation of the first Meridian of the United States, October 15, 1804." A careful perusal of the report shows that it refers to two different periods of time.

John Lenthall, a superintendent under Latrobe at the United States Capitol, attests the account, \$171.21½, for the materials and building the meridian pier or Jefferson obelisk, dated December 18, 1804.

The pier was frequently used by surveyors as a bench-mark, and as a guy-post for barges and other boats; and, not being kept in repair, soon became demolished. Finding its stone scattered around in 1872, when extending Executive avenue past that old landmark, not only the scattered stones, but a considerable part of its upper foundation was used in the formation of that avenue bed. The old surface of the ground was resurfaced to the depth of several feet, and the ground extended two hundred feet nearly into what was formerly part of Goose Creek, thereby greatly altering the old ground surface. Two or more engineers tried to recover the foundation of the pier at different times about ten years since. The obelisk erected by N. King southwest of the National Monument, on the meridian west from the south end of the Capitol, was removed in 1888 to the property yard of Public Buildings and Grounds, leaving nothing to mark its original position.

And third—October 9, 1889, I was instructed to recover the foundation of the said pier, and did so in the following manner: Running a line due south by the center of the Executive Mansion, by that of Virginia avenue, from Rock Creek, to intersection of my first line, point No. 1; by that of Virginia avenue, from Eastern Branch to point No. 1; by that of East Capitol

street to point No. 1; and by that of Louisiana avenue to point No. 1; all of the said lines intersecting each other very nearly, I fixed that point and excavated the ground about a foot clear of the peg on its western side, to the depth of 6 feet 6 inches, and struck the west side of the old foundation. I then extended the said lines and fixed them 20 feet 0 inches on each side of peg No. 1; then excavated a square of eight feet and found point No. 1 was exactly perpendicular over the center of the foundation. Though using the courses mentioned by Nicholas King, I did not know of the existence of his report till I accidentally found it in the State Department, January 5, 1891. The pit was left open for six weeks, so that all who wished might see for themselves. During that time a granite block 3 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 0 inches by 2 feet 0 inches, weighing 2,132 pounds, nearly, was prepared; the old foundation was taken out, and under it a lady's thimble was found. I have not seen anything to confirm the statement that "it was placed there by Mrs. Jefferson and was the reason for designating the obelisk the Jefferson Pier." A cement concrete foundation was laid for the stone, on which it was set, standing $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches above ground, having on its west face the following inscription: "Position of Meridian Post, erected September 20, 1793, and Position of the Jefferson Stone Pier, erected December 18, 1804; and Recovered and Re-erected, December 1, 1889." Just as it was set in position, and before the ground was levelled around it, I received orders to lower it as at present, which accounts for no inscription being visible above ground.

Finally—I would explain how I came to have the opportunity to know what is upon record in reference to early maps and surveyors of the city, and say that when placed in charge of the office of Commissioners

of Public Buildings, and all documents therein, in 1876, my instructions were to peruse carefully all the books and other documents placed under my care, and to familiarize myself with their contents. The Attorney-General of the United States sent me a letter, dated December 31, 1886, directing me to assist the Attorney of the District of Columbia in preparing evidences of the case, "The United States vs. F. M. Morris et al.", with whom, and at which, I have been engaged down to 1896, giving required evidences from the said records; their contents were fresh in my memory at the time I was asked to prepare this paper (except the few references to my own actions in connection with surveying made in this city). All the other references to matters and persons were culled from the statements on file in this office (though by no means exhausted), purposely passing over some statements to avoid anything which might appear dishonorable in any person referred to.

THE L'ENFANT MEMORIALS.

The originals of these memorials are the property of Mr Henry A. Willard of this city, who secured them by purchase at the sale of the collection of autographs of the late Ben Perly Poore. Mr Willard has kindly permitted them to be copied for publication in this volume of the transactions of this society. Their verification seems to be conclusively established. All of them are marked by the lines of folding and have the endorsement of official papers. To three of the documents the signature of L'Enfant is affixed, and two are in his handwriting. The memorial dated Philadelphia, August 30th, 1800, and addressed "To the Commissioners of the City of Washington," is not in his handwriting and is without his signature, but it contains references to others to which his signature is affixed, one of which is in his handwriting. The memorial, dated Philadelphia, December 7, 1800, addressed "To the Honorable the Senate and the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled," and "paper referred to per memorial December 7th," and endorsed No. 1, and the "Statement of the case of L'Enfant, December 11th, 1800," are in his handwriting and bear his signature.

These facts and circumstances satisfy the Committee on Publication of the authenticity of the memorials and accompanying papers, and justify their publication as verified copies of the originals in possession of Mr. Willard:

To the Commissioners of the City of Washington

PHILADELPHIA *August 30th 1800*

A concurrence of disastrous events rendering my po-

sition so difficult as to be no longer possible to withstand unless speedily relief be obtained by collecting what yet remains my due: I trust the simple mention of the case will justify an application to your Board and with Instance on the Subject of my late Concern in the affairs of the City of Washington.—

I confided in the wisdom and honor of him whose patriotic views in giving birth to the Federal Establishment he knew my Zeal & Exertions were great to have forwarded, but at the present juncture, and since left with you Gentlemen to mourn the departed American Chief, thus at once missing the friend, and principal dependency in my cause, and of course became censurable for too great a confidence and liberality it will not be expected I can any longer forbear claiming Redress for Injury when the feeling is rendered so acute and the Consequences distressing.

I indeed indulged the hope that—though an ill Star would have me be driven from the grand Concern in the affair of the City of Washington too soon for the merit of my labour there having been made perceptible to vulgar Senses—still the all comprehensive mind of its founder having adopted my Ideas and esteemed in the developement of early attempts the promise of complete success would at this moment have acknowledged but the attainment (be it of only the leading object) for all the changes of Agency that have been does not the less leave the public Indebted to me.—

In the first place he knew, that—to my exertions your Commission owed the acquisition of means over commensurate with the Work to have supplied and by an oeconomy of which (on principles as were suggested) the City was at the end made a rich Corporation—he knew that—I derived no profit by the transaction while the immediate result to others has been a great

Increase of their wealth from rise of property over a vast extent of territory, and if this Increase has not continued in a progressive ratio—if the business has proved more Complex than expected—if the progress has not been so rapid nor so brilliant and the resources were soon done away, reflection could not fail but convince him how these disappointments were invited by a departure from my principle and particularly for having given way to the seduction of that active Agency of all evil, Speculation,—he knew my early fear of the result when seeing the Interest that had already worked to disable your Commission of its means at the first stirred up disturbance of my operations combining with Jealousy to render loud the cry against keeping me powerful in the direction.—he had seen how suddenly after my retreat the City property being depreciated to an excessive low rate actual Bankrupts, Land and Stock Jobbers became the forestallers of the major portion and well approved and safe mode of accelerating public Improvements being renounced the growth of the City left a chance of Caprice was retarded through grumbling Interest and a Swindling Scheme of Lottery and to these facts the repeated call by your Commission made upon Government for assistance concurring in proof of the promised by Speculation Contract, he surely must have allowed but the apprehension of the consequences of which I had warned were not chimerical when besides it is seen that with all the product from Sale of House Lots and the intermissive Supply obtained it has not in seven years lapse enabled the Completion of even one half of the main Edifices.—

The Remark here reminding of the promise upon which I engaged in the planning of the Federal Seat, of the Subsequent agreement with your Commission and how ungraciously when a thorough understanding of

my plan being presumed and the execution thought facile, these were deceived through underhand measures which in the origin recognised inconsistent being in the proposal to me also Insulting Compelled my resignation. were I now to particularise grievances—that of the breach of the engagement to me respecting those edifices doubtless would be ranked high for having destroyed an essential part of the combined division of the City and thereupon if it were asked whence arose the disagreement so destructive of mine and the general Interest—recollecting how some of the esteemed friends of the enterprize in acknowledging the superiority of my Scheme at the same time confessed a regret at my standing so conspicuously the Agent of its success, it would easily be explained how the illiberal Sentiment rallying round all the inimical and the speculative Emulated the working to detach me from the business and to strip me also of the fame as has become manifest.—

1st. From the ascendancy of those friends and period at which exercised, persuading upon the high authority by whom I acted the discontinuance of accustomed familiar and direct communication with me on the subject of the City affairs whence followed an unshakened disturbancy of the best approved of my measures and abuse consequent also to your Commission refusal of explaining the object and denial of redress of private injury done by the mistake.

2ndly. From the manner my right as author, to the general Map of the City was nullified, first inducing my consent to an essay engraving, and next hindering it by taking the principal hand away from the work and secretly having had a number of Copies drawn of that Map for private gratification and such as also were seen in the Senate and in the House of Representatives

wherein they had been hastened through opposition to the promised honors of myself presenting those bodies with the Original.

3rdly. From the deception of employing near me of a disguised personage who rendering himself serviceable gained free access to all my papers and so honorably acquitted of his Secret Commission gathering all by transcription and chalk out of Manuscripts and Drawings as to have at the opportune moment secured all that could serve to others to reap reputation and profit from my labours.

4th. From the Invitation given to a particular Individual, a copiest of my own plan, bringing him forward as original proprietor, by which was seen superceding me in the direction of the Capitol Edifice one of repute for having betrayed a trust deserting his duty to me on an occasion before and to the utter disappointment of a public object.

5thly. From the incorrect representation of my disposition when saying that I declined acting under your Commission—whereas well avered that no terms ever were offered to me on wch to have obtained my sentiments and that I myself made advances which remained unanswered proposing a mode of adjusting different and for the organization of the business, for the Security of my Agency in wch I simply wished the agreement mutually binding to respect and observance, a precaution well justified from prior violation.

6thly. From the Conduct of one highly trusted but on whose dependency on particular patronage made him connive with all the inimical and Contentious besides when free from my Control his deviating from the agreed with me in the execution of my plan and injuriously too to all property by having rendered num-

bers of it incapable of improvement wch by my combination were made the most advantageous.

7thly. From the assumption altogether of the property of my plan, again secretly engraving, wch engraving incorrect in part being given for guide of operations has been misleading all succeeding Surveyors whose innocent Errors for want of knowledge of my method *of offset of lines where angles fall under a certain degree*, necessarily must have atchieved equal mischief as where the mistake has been malicious.

8th. From the tricking proceeding on my discovering of the above when after I generously permitted the completing of the engraving and had even lent manuscripts drafts as were said wanting for correction—those manuscripts were detained and I refused the revision of the proofs in printing.

9thly. From me finding my name erased from the title of the Map at the moment of publication and leaving stand on one of my Assistants,—a proceeding too plainly desecrating by what Mind dictated, for need being of remark upon as besides the petty policy proved itself also by the careful omission of my name in all subsequent publications pamphleting and other more unstable accounts of the City Establishment.

10thly. From the forcible Seizure of particular drafts manuscripts in deposit and of other abstracts papers and effects likewise Stealhed away from my Agents and out of my own quarters when in my absence the disturbances consequent to the combined arrest and false Imprisonment of that Agent laid all open to plunder, and by which I was bereaved of the possibility of effecting an intended publication of the City Plan in my own name.

11th. From the hearty and pressant manner of a tender of a little Money expressedly as acquit of all

obligations the rejection of which commended by feeling of a better due was no less determined by discovery at the very time of the abusive dealing as stated No. 3, 8, 9 and 10

12thly. From the extention of the wrong in having contemptuously of the assurance given me in primary instances but the publication of my plan was meant to be limited multiplied the emission in rapid succession to each other, and disposed of the prints not merely through the United States but over all Country beyond Sea thus spreading the fame of the enterprize robbing me of the merit and of my fortune by making the great proceed the enrichment of them who have no title to it except it be as expert Agents of Villainy.

If pausing here and to shorten the disgraceful Catalogue the question were to turn upon what has been my own conduct—I conscious of no wrong at my hand done would simply reply but my endeavours were uniformly to the purpose of the enterprize, and the System of my Process likewise the best calculated (known of) to have within the appointed term raised the City a fit Capital for this vast growing Empire and capable of receiving the Government—

Further—I would give to consider—that the Invitation to me to the Potowmack was in words as follow viz—To undertake there the execution of the *President's intentions*—that next his Instructions came through the *Secretary of State* placing me Independent [which Instruction it will not be unimportant to notice had (either through inadvertency or for some purpose) made my position at the first instance most perplexing and delicate]—I would give to consider that the apprehension of the mischief attendant to all disjoint or jealous directions made me the first Solicitous of a proper Union of agency, and that it was in testimonial of con-

cordant disposition and to determine my undertaking the plan of the City that I was assured of the direction of the two main Edifices the Site and Configuration of which constituted essentially the base of its divisions—I would give to consider—that being agreed my agency should be primary over all employed at the work of the City, and that work all over to have been conformable to the Plan—for all what I could do afterward inviting your Commission at its part [to provide and organize all the Branches of Administration] it having slighted the call and disclaimed owing an immediate attendance questioning whether the foundation of a new City had at all been the intention of its appointment the Consequence was that much of what ought to have been its care necessarily devolved on me to perform under the particular confidential Instruction of the President. I lastly would give to consider that—thus eventually made to act a principal part in transactions of first Interest to the Federal Establishment (otherwise foreign to my agency) successful and approved in every Step and proposal made by me, I on the adoption of the grand Idea of the plan having been enjoined a prompt execution conformably to—the Scruple then with your Commission preventing an active co-operation, it became incumbent on me resolutely to endeavor those things of which it would not make a particular business and when necessitated to a disagreeable exertion of authority to trust on, and avail of, the support afforded me as in few instances I did cautioning the delinquents and pursuing the right course of my operations.

To contrast my proceeding with the treatment which I met in return—it also would be seen that the greater the machination to frustrate my labours, the more regardless of personal consequences, I exerted abilities

advancing all matters of Import to the National object abetting no party meaning the advantage of all and that—if my occasional absence (necessitated by variety of distant avocations) was opportunate to disturbances and arrest of my measures, these disturbances and arrest having constantly subsided and been receded from as I drew near again to the place—all can only be proofs additional but every of my directions must have been considerate, Judicious, Proper, and not as some would have had it believed running Counter to regulation and Convention with them from whom I derived the power—it would be seen that notwithstanding the discouragement also of inconsiderate hurrying on of most intricate operations, of the untimely call of marking out Lots for Sale and other similar indiscreet orders which besides the uselessness of were effectually given more to perform than by human power could have been devoument to the business made me cheerfully endeavour the utmost, overlook all Inconveniences repressing the Sentiment of the Injury to me Intent and to do Justice to every call commit my health by the practice of passing from excessive hard days labour to the no less toilsome of long and whole set up nights destitute of the comforts and means of exigency to such an undertaking and in a clime the like.

Thus it would be seen that left alone and having had to conquer the prepossession of people the primary affected by the operation of my plan, actively subduing difficulties and under a surcharge of care the mind engaged in the framing of a plan novel, extensive and varied in its ramifications, my agency extending also to ministration relative to Concessions of territory (that which I gained to the public being above three fourths over than the first sought after besides other detached

acquisitions of as much moment and advantage) the entire Scheme of the Federal Establishment was secured, most eminently to my perseverance in the business till the main bases of the plan were immutably fixed and a portion of the whole of the division and Improvements so began as needed for a regulation to the end.—

By so liberally facilitating the execution of the plan Independent of me being visible I was diminishing my own Consequence in the Concern with your Commission—I knowing of no new Legislative act to have Rendered the continuance of my Agency in union with your Commission more Incompatible in 1792 than had been from 1790—here may be remarked the ungratefulness of the management at issue being then when all matters were by one set in a good way that the cry against my so continuing began to be heard and that in unison, those long born vexations (before cautiously mitigated), were boldly redoubled and with so insufferable unprecedented Indignities that no longer abiding to compact the transaction as also as in the foregoing numbered, shewed clearly the Mastery of an inimical envious Genius over both your Commission and the chief on whom depended the reorganization of the directive whom by preventing them the consideration of my proposals for—at last left nothing honorable for me to have done but the resignation which followed.

Resolving on the resignation, the Contrast again of my Conduct would Shew others ruled by petty policy against the better knowledge of things converting the reasons of my abandonment as best could sooth up the concerned in the event to a passive endurance of this mischief—biassing the public in belief to me injurious by whispering round but I failed in the respect due to the president of the United States and wished to have placed myself above your Commission, the in-

genuity of which Story helped first in dissuading the Citizens of Washington from remonstrating on the business by address as they intended to the President an act which would have been a manifest of the esteem which I left being me, too clashing with the purposes of blotting all traces of my agency for admitting doubly handling in order also of precluding the better disposition of the chief and create distrust in me mistating to him my Sentiments, and to me representing him ill inclined thus casting the odium of particular doings on sides rendered of difficult access, were tricks ably managed but which for all that failed in the intent of exciting me through mistaken anger to uncivil demeanour toward any.—it was seen to the contrary that—not only due respect to Office but right esteem of person all along actuated me, and so much so that at the moment previous to my resigning (and against the advice of all that surrounded me) I gave fresh proofs of to the President of the United States—addressing this first Patron of the Federal Enterprize with the precise of my Ideas and intentions of conducting it—loyally giving into his honor my Schemes to enable your Commission the proper prosecution of the work began advising such ways and means as I knew were attainable and warranted the most safe and Expediental—after which when the whole business with me was closed, manifesting none but my anxiety still for the good of the City—feeling strong in the Integrity and honor of my past Services against the Shafts of speculative Villains contemptuous of them all, I simply invited attention on the singular doing respecting the publishing of the City Plan as Explained Nos. 7. 8 and 9 and withdrew myself, with the comfort of assurances on that occasion renewed to me, in the name of the President by his own Secretary, that nothing in the busi-

ness had been, but upon the whole entitled me to praise and Insured me the continuance of his particular Esteem and favor—the sense of mentioning which warranted me the sincerity of.—

Having yielded in this honorable manner to the Jealousies of the same which the complete raising of the City to a Splendour and greatness worthy of its name must have acquired.—were it necessary more to illustrate the merit of the Sacrifice I could for the Satisfaction of those whose estimation of a concern may chiefly attach to the weight of base Coin from which to deduce profit or loss—produce data from which to appreciate the loss to my fortune consequent also to the failing of the promise upon wch I engaged in the planing of the City of Washington

Giving to compare my actual distressed Condition with the affluent circumstances of, in 1790.—however may be said of the disastrous events Surveyed in Europe and of the robberies which I in the interim experienced on other hands of my saving here having contributed a share of the reduction—it would be easily demonstrable but the Invitation to the Poto-mack and subsequent engagement there were ye primary causes by necessarily having diverted my attention from the turning of my family affairs in Europe and also—that having forced my removal from a place (New York) where I stood at the time able of commanding whatever business I liked, the chances all were missed there by which I might have retrieved from difficulties—as what I elsewhere since I endeavoured proved unavailable or rather added to—owing also to tricking not altogether foreign to what I experienced in the Federal Enterprize—obvious therefore but the Inducement for hazarding my all in that Enterprize must have been the contemplation of a full compensa-

tion, here leaving a part what is claimed by the circumstances of loss and expence of the removal as necessitated.—if only inquiring into the advantages promised by, may be set down that.

1st. Of a Salary to my Agency commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the Object and of the Affairs managed.—

2ndly. Of payment for the delineation of the City Plan on an estimation expected such as the Sentiment of a work of genius alone alone can suggest and—differencing the production of the artist from that of the mere artisan or virtuoso, making also the price comport with the benefit in the end to result to the Nation.

3rdly. Of the proceed from the printing of the City Plan or an equivalent for being taken away the property thereof.—

4th. Of the great additional perquisite necessarily to have devolved to me from the agency.—

What those perquisites would have come to—this would be well deducible from observing that on the adoption of my plan, proposals already from Particular Companies placed under my immediate agency the erecting of Houses to the amount of \$1,000,000 only for a first operation meant to have been extended to upward double the Sum and for my trouble in directing which besides what would have come from an Infinitude of other detached fabricks, very liberal offers had been made and such as (exclusively of the right on public account) had procured me a clear gain of \$50,000 on first start of the business and upon failure of which brought on as has been the Compensation due by Government follow from all such Concerns having been made the Consideration in the planning of the City—the object of the first authorization of my Steps enticing those private ventures having been principally

the obtaining from the ventures themselves a loan of Money for the public work the carrying on of which they considering of essential mutual safety in the Enterprize made the loan be agreed with them for, at a moderate rate of 5 pct. and to an amount at once equal to the computed expences of five years of all projected operations—by which mean the grand machinery of my plan was to have been set in motion raising, as if it had been magically a ready built City out of the Earth, thereby to have secured at all chances the most of the looked for, by the Shares of property whilst it had enabled the quiet prosecution of the political object saving the expences to the Nation since out of the Lots not built on when the loan reimbursement once effected would have remained a surplussage of great means and Income to the City itself.

Whether the measure mutually failed from having been kept back waiting my going out of the agency—or whether it was dissuaded from by alluring Interest such as I wished to have restrained—being only reverting to the principle of the negociation that I bring the disappointment up to the list of Services left unrequited—reflection must easily satisfy how the prospect in such an agency and the being hurrying on to a beginning of the Enterprize at the very time of the breaking out of the Revolution in my native Country made me lose the hearing of its Summons and taking away from me the leisure to have saved property revertible to me there, caused me the loss—a loss since the event of which I could only be heartened against the fear of want here by reckoning upon a great due (at least of gratitude) for a long series of Services, mostly gratuitous and which for having in a succession of above 22 Years, gained me the esteem, and I may say the confidence, of the great late American Chief

were not a little encreasing my Security in the concern taken at his Invitation, in the federal business my expectation from which as expressed cannot but be still as sanguine as it was at the moment of the adoption of my plan, or more over I would give to consider that my belief in a full acquiescence to the terms and manner of the provisions negociated as above stated was consequent to my having seen every other interfering proposal, to mine dismissed and one particularly noticable for having come from *the Secretary of the Treasury A: Hamilton himself* which it is observable if it had prevailed still would have placed me within a Sphere of larger perspective than what I otherwise embraced—Speaking of the *Secretary's Intention* to have provided me at once with as many Pounds Sterling as I at the time computed of Dollars wanted.—His Scheme for which besides enabling the absolute completion of the City Plan gave a greater certainty to the attainment of the political end, than the most timorous of the Interested to its success could well have questioned—here to take away the wonder of the dismissal so far as I myself witnessed of the transaction ascribing the mistake to the temper of some of the primary consulted who precluded the president's own Judgment of the merits of the proposal the circumstances may be well appealed to as one of the many Instances when to my knowledge the dearest Interest of the City of Washington was sacrificed through the passion and weakness of its most esteemed Supporters and the Infatuation of some whom wishing the Seat of Government stand a mere contemptible hamlet had rested better satisfied with giving great name to small things than with having in reality those things done which were to have reflected an immortal honor on the nation, and rapidly raised that Seat a splendid invit-

ing Capital—the Influence of whose character surprisingly discernable in the opposition met while pursuing matters, the Injunction to me to effect which had been positive and reiterate, betrayed no less personal ill will causing those Injunctions to me the more Imperious in proportion as bereaving me of the means I was tricked into a necessity either to have metamorphosed myself an Insignificant impotent employer or renounced all concern in the business the latter of which must have been expected from me better than that I could with honor at Stake at the issue of an Enterprize wholly of my own Scheme have descended from my Post insensible of a greater due and that I would covetously stooping to Insult and breach of agreement have committed myself to becoming the pliant tool for middling Speculators to have worked the destruction of the very riches by my labour to your Commission procured and so that on the Event of the Enterprize missing its end, I must have stood the apparent reprehensible cause.—a chance which for being now happily evaded still will not be believed out of the Intent of those who have advised or advocate that beggarly system of Oeconomy to which your Commission has been reduced being incredible how other but raking Schemery and Enemies to the politics and glory of the great patron founder of the City, can have opposed more provident arrangement and at the hazard of losing all, dared so novel and vast a work without a guide at least with none that could feel his repute and honour engaged to the success

Could them whose Influence was so prevalent be at all the City friends—these insidious flatterers and courtiers of my exertions—it must be seen that watchful of the progress and Jealous of the Success, they provoked the resignation of my concern out of conceit of

abilities to have themselves overtaken again my ways and advantaged of all by me brought within power of effecting, and the facts and deductions to be drawn from all in the foregoing recital speaking of the wrong I suffered all the pretence of this having been perpetrated out of good wish to the City, would not make that wrong less it would not diminish the evidences of the abuse to my property nor would it embellish the hideousness of the motive for the use make of people who under me were necessarily trusted with all my Ideas and Intentions, to say but these people did not so aid the business as might be imagined or that such promotion as in No. 4 (related) was only meant as a screen to the preferment of more reputable concurrent.

Be those persons who superceded me and who in rotation may have expelled one another either mere would be thought Architects or truly bred up to the profession and learned and able practisers—if they followed the paths chalked out by me or stepped from it, the result as the City shall rise will shew which of presumptuous ignorance or of true Judgment has been their guide and as I shall sincerely more lament the errors than Jealous the success—declaring here that I am far from the Idea of even reproaching them who have benefited of my stripping and that I neither pretend challenging an explication of the conduct of Superiors simply yielding, and with much reluctance too, to the hard necessity of unfolding the unhappy situation of my affairs and to what owing—I have particularized heads of grievances, and offered a comparative of Conduct in order that a right Judgment may be formed of the Errors and of where may lay.—and how the estimation of which you Gentlemen whom I now address I trust will be satisfied of the ground upon

which I promised to myself—but the Man whose mind I esteem was too great, and whose heart was too good to have partaken of the Intention of Wrong would not have failed at this Juncture for causing a redress proportionate to all what my fortune, and fame have suffered.

Claiming such redress I question not but your Commission has itself all along holden the honor and Justice of the American Nation for Engaged to—and therefore hope that you Gentlemen actually in Office will view the foregoing as properly submitted to their consideration and left to be acted upon as in their own joint wisdom shall be deemed most consistent—I remaining well certain that divested of all prepossessions and selfish regard—as a body actuated by no Interest but that of doing good—the merit of all circumstances will be generously weighed and that if—incompatible as I apprehend it may be with your charge be to do that ample Justice which is my right to expect—if the matter should need be referred to Government you will (without refraining from affording what redress and relief may be in the power of your Commission) make it a point on the first convenient opportunity in an official way to call the Government attention on the state of the business—

Could the opportunity soon occur I would anticipate much from your Individual good Commendation. Indulging in the persuasion but the propriety and merit of all my acts and directions in respect to business of the City of Washington has long before been rendered sensible to you Gentlemen in the prosecution of the Enterprize and that—however renouncing the System of operations by me set in train you have attained the principal of the end for which I contended—you will feel the attainment short of what I aimed at but not

the less for that adding to the debt of gratitude to me for—you will feel how by being secured in the object, the nation has become more directly in honor bound to compensate my loss and to repay my zeal and trouble and you will that the whole due may be appreciated, and discharged with credit to the nation as readily acknowledging, and as doubtless would have done him in whose praise I made my pride,—that the final fixing of the Federal Government on the bank of the Potomack, the advantage to result to the Union and the enrichment over an immense tract of contiguous country is in a most particular manner attributable to the vivacity of my first conception of the business—to the Combination of my exertions beyond my professional line and to the devotedness with which suffering a great reverse of fortune I disregarded all consequences to myself honestly keeping at my post making head against cavilling opposition until by a display of the grand intention of my plan and by the manifestation of power as well as of resolution to effect it the reputation which I acquired to the Enterprize had in connecting the pride with the Interest of the Union changed the most influential of the Component States from Enemies into friends to the Establishment.

With due Respect I have the honor to be

[Endorsement.]

MR. L'ENFANTS

Memorial

delivered by

Jno. Langdon

21 March

1801

Sess

2 Cons.

PHILADELPHIA, decembr. 7th, 1800.

Memorial to the Honorable the Senate and to
the Honorable the house of representatives of the
United States of America in Congress assembled—

Respectfully shewing that, I your memorialist—Peter
charles L'Enfant—major of Engineer in the revolu-
tionary war, having entered the Service of the United
States early in 1776—served without interruption to
the end of the war, and, to great personal sacrifices
joining the merit of wounds received and of hard Cap-
tivity endured—having remained an inhabitant of the
Said States, and a freeman of the City of new york by
Special honorifick patent continuuing usefull in various
public employment since the peace of 1784—but with-
out any pay, and at my own expenses having performed
many Services through encouragement of promises of
regular reappointment with preferment consistant with
my acquired title to—waiting that and, on the occasion
of the first of the act fixing the permanent Seat of
government on the bank of the potomack I having also
been Invited there and charged of the devising of a
Scheme for the establishment of a City, I consequently
afterward, upon the adoption of the whole of the plan
by me proposed became a principal in the direction
Jointly with the Commission by law Constituted—fur-
ther giving to Consider that I your memorialist pro-
ceeded on that Service as I had done many before with
more promptness to act than care of Stipulating Con-
ditions or of procuring legal Substantiating to all the
promised in the end—the mournfull event of the loss
of the great chief and first President of these United
States by whose choice and Confidence I had been hon-
ored depriving me of the friend and principal depen-
dancy in my cause—the whole in the following submit-

ted claim from the Equity of your honorable house to be generously considered.—

The terms of the Invitation to me to the potomack having simply been these (viz)—to undertake there the President Intention—and next on the Connecting of my agency with the Commission—the Supremacy over all the employed being Conceded to me the Commission also having left it to me—to devise to Suggere and to bring on all Sorts of arrangement or matters of Interest to the enterprise—this great Confidence and responsibility too to—answer, whilst at the Same time the required and the expected from me at once at the on Set of the business enlarged its difficulties and the Scheme of enterprise for its novelty excited a faning of Interests—will doubtless well Satisfy your honorable house—how laborious was my task and that an active resolute exertion of abilities alone Could forward that business and in the midst of a world of Intrigues and of Contrarities have well preserved the mind free for the Combinations of a plan So peculiarly adapted to circumstances and so varied as is that of the city of Washington.

Noticing these Intrigues because at first and so long as uncertainty attended my labour having been moderated—the disguise was thrown off as gradually as by a loyal and generous display and communication of my every Intentions and ends, I diminished my own Consequence by rendering my own plan possible to other to execut Independant of me and—it having been then when—agreably to the President desire and after urged on by the Commissionairs themselves—a beginning had been made at all points and when—Supply was Insured to all adequate (at least by me brought within reach to have been so Insured) that a cry against maintaining me so able in the agency became to be heard.—

there upon will I pose—leaving it to the wisdom of your honorable house to define the reasons—to Judge of the wrong and how to me hard and mortifying that ---when my agency had thus far been availed of and after so active and successful—when by all acknowledged to have been to the best of end directed to the satisfaction and advantage of the people owners of the territory of Columbia and also—that my every Step and measures had met the approval and been given the support of the great patron of the establishment whose personal glory the grand end Concerned—the Enemies of that Enterprise and Speculators coalised with the Jealouses of the same which a complete raise of the city to a splendor and greatness worthy its name and the capitol of a grand Empire must have acquired—Should have found Supporters and have become so prevalent and so irresistible as has proved from the wrought on necessity of a departure from my System of general Economic of management to the end of compelling the relinquishment of my concern.

on the resulting abuses and to confine to what directly affected me.—to the evil of Injury to my fame and to that of the destruction of my fortune—having been joined that of a disappointment also of a preferment to an office particularly made my dependency at the first, of the late raising of fortifications and at the successive variance in the reorganisation of the department of Engineers—mentioning that merely to Shew whence and how different ways a victim of my Confidence liberality and zeal in my public Concerns—the Integrity also of the views in all my aspirings having kept me from an over pursuit, in the meanwhile Sunk my every resource under deceptive prospects and Encouragements and—of this Integrity and of its Consequences, the ready resignation I made of my grand

Concern in the affairs of the City of Washington affording conspicuous uncontrollable proof—on these will I rest, deeming it unnecessary more to enumerate Instances when disinterestedness and a Sense of the honorable to do, has been the predominant through my Several achievements for fame—I maintaining the hope that—twenty three years of attachment to these United States, the free Spending of my own in Services not altogether unprofitable to them—having born evidence of my Constancy to principle and gained me the esteem as it had merited me the Confidence of the late chief and first president of these United States will be recommending me to the Indulgence and favour of your honorable house, especially at so auspicious a juncture as that of its first Seating in the city of Washington—when the circumstance naturally is to recal to mind or to prompt to Enquiry to known—by whom was the establishment first framed.

Encouraged by this persuasion in here Stating the object of this memorial to be to Submit to the Equity of your honorable house—certain cases of Infraction of my rights and due, with other Injury Sustained at the close of my Concerns in the affairs of the City of Washington (all in abuse of the generosity and loyalty of my conduct.—referring for particular to the Subjoined paper No. 1. I your Memorialist confidently pray for redress and for Compensation.

also and to the end that my Scheme of the City establishment may become better understood—referring to the Commission itself for Explanation of the propriety of the novel way of division and to Shew the practicability (agreeable to my Intention) with ease to have Completed the work within the period by the act limited.—this as will Satisfy of the fore-cast of my combinations and of the weight of the charge and care

at the Setting on of so great a work under operation, being to enable the proper valuing of the plan and the merit of my direction.

farther I Shall not take up the time of your honorable house but to express regret that, the Interests that have been to detach me from that business Should have also dissuaded its prosecution on the System by me laid down and to the admission of Ignominious lottery Speculation and of other destructive of the city property—which by dissabling the Commission from that great mean for Supply that had been through my exertions first created—has left the growth and population of the city a matter of chance at the hazard of missing the main object of its foundation and as necessarily caused its actual Insufficiency and will keep it long yet before it can afford any thing like the promised by me or Suitable for a Seat of national Councils and Government. not at the Same time questioning—but that in parting from my System the principals, managers or others respectable characters Influential to an opposition to me were all actuated by Justifiable motives though differing from the policy that ruled me.—I well account how likewise in an Entreprise so novel a misconception may have been of the proper for an efficient prosecution of the design—how honest minds unsuspecting of the end, can have been persuaded to the worst of expedients and how also Subaltern agents, over officious, may have atchieved much to my Injury—only therefore lamenting the mischief of a coercion of the best Intentions I shall here pass silently over the arts and machinations by which I became a victim of my zeal and of my respect for and Confidence in the high authority by whom I acted—this indeed too long and too disgraceful for recital being besides unimportant, Since it would not alter facts nor could niether add nor diminish of the Injury to Indemnify.

having given the Commission full minute relation of facts and of management as have been in above of the loyalty of my conduct which Joined to the Stock of its own Information will Enable the gentlemen now in office themselves to explain (if that Should be necessary) on points both delicate and grievous to me to remind of—also having there upon obtained the assurance of those gentlemen disposition to Support or aid the prayer I have no made—I not only rely on their Sensibility of an Indemnification being due to me for loss consequent to deprivation and Infraction of certain of my rights as also for other Injury—but that—their own Experience through a long administration—their knowledge of the State in which I found and of that in which I left the local of the City of Washington—both as have Satisfied them of what beginning I made and what were the difficulties by me Conquered—will press out an honorable avowal that—for all the change the agency have undergone and however deviating from the principle of the work by me began the chief of the ends for which I contended is now attained—Such an attainment glorious as may be to the Commission Still Short of what I aimed at, is not the less attributable to me and in a high degree too deserving of a munificent acknowledgement for.—being well certain that them who witnessed my actions, if they be but disinterested men, will all agree that—the Success of the City of Washington was first Insured by the reputation which I gained to the enterprise—by the quick Conception of the propriety of its local—by exertions and Combinations uncommon to my professional line and—by the devotedness with which, whilst I Suffering a great reverse in my family fortune I still persevered in unprofitable labour and at the end resolved, the Sacrifice also of my prospects in

that Entrepriſe to a reconciliation and harmoniſing of parties and Interests that oppoſed the progreſs.

I indulg therefore the hope that to the regard of all circumſtances upon which my prayer is founding the preſſure of my neceſſities will be concluſive from Seeing me come forward in the mortifying attitude of Supplicant before your honorable houſe at a place and on a day too as the preſent when reflection alone muſt Convince that—if I had but been permitted the execution of the City plan, the brilliancy of the Succeſs by bringing me all triumphantly over the Jealouſies would now have gained me the honor of a free unanimous vote in Expreſſion of the Satisfaction at the Service.

feeling the difference of the Situation and humbly Submitting my caſe to your honorable houſe I your Memorialiſt remain

with profound reſpect

the Honorable the Senate
and the Honorable the houſe
of repreſentatives

moſt obedient
moſt devoted and
humble ſervant

PETER CHARLES L'ENFANT.

Note referred to on page 12 of the Expoſition

With reſpect to the tales that “I withheld from the commissioners the plan and the information in my poſſeſſion relative thereto” the following queſtions and answers muſt naturally occur, viz.

Queſtion. 1.—What right could the commissioners pretend to my plan or to thoſe informations relative thereto?

Answer. none whatever.

Q. 2.—Did they ever ask this of me?

A. never.

Q. 3.—Why did they not?

A. I presume because I was not paid for & was not obliged by any promise to have done more than I did.

Q. 4.—Did they not receive the plan from the president and the information which he chose to give to them?

A. they certainly did.

Memorandum

If I had retained anything improperly, the president was the only person to whom I was accountable.

Q. 5.—Did not the commissioners forcibly take possession of a manuscript of my plan, together with notes of my directions to surveyors, which I had lent on trust to one of the persons employed by them after I had left the business?

A. They absolutely did so.

Q. 6.—Did they not in a surreptitious manner procure and cause my plan to be engraved at Philadelphia?

A. They did so.

Q. 7.—When they thus procured the engraving did they not know that I intended to have published it? and had they not themselves engaged of me 10,000 copies?

A. They undeniably did know & had so engaged.

Q. 8.—Was I not justly entitled to expect from them the price for those 10,000 copies that I might have got by a sale to others?

A. I believe there can be no doubt of it.

Q. 9.—Was it not therefore doing me a wilful injury to sell the engraving for their own account or purpose

at a reduced price thereby depriving me of my price and of the right to the exclusive privilege of publication?

A. It was.

Q. 10.—If they had had any right to it would they have resorted to so shameful a mode of procuring it?

A. I believe they wd have taken a more legal way.

Q. 11.—Did not president Washington declare the engraved plan to be the determined plan of the city and that he would not permit it to be deviated from?

A. He did so declare.

Q. 12.—Was not the president bound by every principle of honor and justice, as he had previously promised to the proprietors not to depart from the original, by me in the first instance laid out?

A. He certainly was.

Q. 13.—Was it not by thus binding himself as also by promising the execution in the way I proposed that he obtained the assent of the landed proprietors to the partition of the building lots & obtained besides the several parcels of land purchased for the use of the U. S. at so low a price as 25 pounds per acre?

A. This is a well known and an undeniable fact.

Q. 14.—Can it therefore be doubted that the engraved plan is agreeable to the original *lines of the grand divisions* of the city? that it is correct with respect to the distribution of the sites of the capitol, judiciary and the president's house—that it is also correct in the course of the canal and that no alteration can be made in any of those things?

A. This cannot be doubted and I certify that it is absolutely so.

Q. 15.—What then are the alterations. Were there not several lines of avenues suppressed from the original design; and did not this suppression cause a de-

rangement in the lines also of some of the right angled streets?

A. There were some such alterations but these were made by myself at the recommendation of the president & of the secretary of state, Mr. Jefferson, as early as august 1791 before I prepared the map for engraving, and at the request of the original proprietors of one particular section of the city. And all the proprietors know that altho the drawing laid before them at their general meeting was declared to be approved by the president, it had not his final approval until after the above alterations were made and only on the date afore-said.

N. B.—No other alteration could possibly be effected except the change of property from hand to hand, that is to say, that some squares were struck out which were intended to be reserved as public property and have been permitted to be sold to individuals—this produced a change in numbering the lots and could not be justly called an alteration in the plan.

P. CHAS. L'ENFANT

No. 1

paper referred to

per memorial to—the Honorable the Senate (decembr.

7th) and the Honorable the House of representatives
of the United States &c.

Particular Statement of Cases referred to per memorial and the Circumstance under which offered having been explained leave now to be Considered as are in the following numeral heads respectfully Submitted (viz)

1st.—of Injury done to my fame as an Artist—by multiplied Spurious publication of my plan of the City of Washington, in abuse of a permission first by me

granted in *obedience* to the president own desire for an essay engraving with his prior assurance that no copying from would have been allowed.—next by hindrance of publishing a Correct map in my own name the materials for which, Such as manuscript drawing notes of grounds level and measurement &c. all were through Some authority laid hold of and detained from me. lastly—by the Singular policy—of suppressing my name from the title of the maps as emitted and that likewise of preventing the mention of in pamphlets and other the most notable public relation that have been of the Columbian establishment and to the end (manifest) of depriving me of the honor of becoming known as the Original designer.

2dly.—of the resulting Injury to my fortune—by deprivation thus of the proceed from Sale of my own work—to the number of upward of 15,000 Copies on a moderate computation from the difference of the Engravers hands—from the variety of Sizes plates, also from the extent and population of country and places where have for these nine years past been disposed of here and in Europe and mostly Selling for from tow to three dollars each.—whether or not such be the number out, at least from 15 to 20,000 Copies are but the reasonable to be taken into view as the probable quantity that would have Sold of the right maps at the time of first Interest and Curiosity as had been excited by my exertions at the Commencement of the enterprise—therefore being easily to estimate the difference now to my fortune Seeing the mischief obviously owing to my Condescension in *obedience to the President of the United States*—I cannot doubt but my right to a Compensation will here be readily admitted.

3dly.—of Injury likewise to my fortune and fame—owing to transgression of promises, particularly re-

specting the tow main Edifices, the Capitol and presidency palace.—the erecting of both which after my own designs had been a primary Condition to my engagement to planing the City.—to whose peculiar division those Edifices were in Configuration essential to have exactly corresponded.—whereas the unjust recant from the promised—the injudicious departure from what I had began through management of people either ill Intent or Incapable of fitting the plans to the Circumstances of the Site for—has ruined the most estimable part of the Scheme which for the originalness of the thought in its whole Connected would have raised the City of washington to an unrivaled splendour.—an Injury to my fortune thence arising from the loss of the very designs Sketches minute of the Intended Edifices and of preparative for other and for the *aqueducs*, the *bridges*, the grand *dock* and *Canal &c.*—all precious memorandum for an Artist to have preserved and all destroyed or diverted away from my own quarter and out of other offices under favour it is believed of disturbances in my absence excited—the last Instance of which (when while I was abroad on business with the president my begining of the foundation of the main Edifices was arrested and other operations too prevented, that were waited for by me and necessary to my perfecting the general plan) determined the abandonement of the whole of my Concerns to the Commission.

4th.—of the Injury to my fortune owing to heavy expences and loss consequent to removal from a City (New York) were prior Succesfull enterprise had placed me able of commanding great business and where I not only missed great chances of fortune by absense but absolutely lost a property in lots of ground worth \$5,000 (for which it was Sold) through contrivance of

Some malevolent avaricious men amongst the Corporation of that City who made me appear as having renounced the grant.

5th.—that at the end,—those Jealousies and Speculations Contradictory to my System Caused me the loss of a bargain of \$50,000 a Sum of right perquisite accruing from particular Compagnies Entreprises of building in amount at first place of \$1,000,000 and which Intended to double that Sum with an Increase of the benefit to me, being to have been planed and conducted in concert and to the advancement of the public part of Improvements were Consequently to have depended on my direction.—on which—

it may be remarked that—in order for giving certainty to the whole connected Entreprise (no provision having been made for by law) I had been from the beginning and while planing of it authorised to the organisation of Such compagnies, and with the double object of by their means procuring advances of money, which at my Invitation they had offered to an amount at once equal to the whole Computed want for five years of operations—for the paving of Streets—for the grand canal and—for other usefull and pleasurable Improvements which it made part of my System to have progressed far in, before making any great Sale of lots even before building of houses.—the Contract proposed hath afforded all the necessary money on a Simple Interest of 5 per Cnt. without any premium, on the Security of the City property itself—and to have been gradually reimbursed either by giving houses lots or Cost, at the choice of the borrower and beginning only after ten years, So that the houses lots enhanced in price by progress of Improvements clearly would have answered (what I meant by that property) to have Saved altogether the Expense of the City establishment to

the nation—a Scheme of bargain the most Equal in advantages to both Sides of the Concernies—the which hath met the mind of the president and his approval too (apparently at least Judging from the dismissal of all Interfering proposals and namely of one coming from the Secretary of the treasury [*Mr. Hamilton*] all which making the negociation Complete So far as in me depended—maintain me in the hope but the missing of the promised by the bargain, as related to myself with those Compagnies, especially when it is reflected on the cause, will be admitted as a grievance properly recorded amongst Injury Intitling me to Compensation.

6th.—that besides that the esteem of the character and my personal dependancy in the late President dispositions had commanded an early unreserved communication of my plans and the display of the machinery for Execution (so much to my Injury since abused of) other raisons Joined as forcibly Inducive that—no beforehand bargain—had been possible for the work of those plans nor no Sallary Could have been well determined for my agency nor direction of a work so varied and unprecedented—before Some previous beginning and an understanding of the whole magnitude of the objects of pursuit had been for an appraisalment of the labour and Computing with that too the advantages ensuing to the nation from the grand Combination of the plan.

thus the matter more than once all considered with the late President and on particular occasions too when the Commissionaires questioned what would be the price of my services they having acquiesced in the observation on the propriety of a postponing of the determination on the Subject—it was by all well understood that an allowance proportionate to a gross estimate of the

hole expenditure is the due, in all great enterprise to the Architect Conductor, Independently of payment for plans and of other gratifications—and being agreeable to Such common usage that the Compagnies aforementioned did offered me the \$50,000 clearly the public part of the operations to have gone on upon a pace with the private ventures—the Commissionaires themselves must have felt had at least Intitled me to Some thing Similarly gratifying as allowance for the general direction Since that direction Could not possibly have embrassed less than it at first did—because upon a fast progressing of at one and the same time all the main parts of the City was depending my promise and Engagement to them to have raised it a City to all Intent and purposes by the time by law prescribed for the removal of Government.

7th.—that being charged with the execution of the president of the United States Intentions I could not have thought of bargaining before hand, nor of asking for written Instructions or directions as I might well have done if I had been the Simple agent of the Commission—that thus—Insecure myself—but Engaged to an Insurance of the political end of the Enterprise as well as to the Safty of the ventures in it, and urged as I were besides from all sides and by Injunctions too the most positive and recidive from the president and from the Commission; to a premature begining and progress in all what I proposed—having So confidently and So laboriously worked to gratify Impatient desire and been left no leisure for thinking of the end to myself,—when it is considered that that end proved so abusive that it would Seem as if I had only been valued as a convenient tool for levelling difficulties and be handled at every ones wish till the way made certain for other, the troving of me aside had become expe-

dient for reaping reputation and profit from my labour—Surrely it cannot be otherwise but manifest (and as I promised it to myself) that the great chief patron of the establishment whose immediate and Confidential agent I was—whose approval and Support hath Encouraged me in all my pursuits—being himself too honorable and too good to have encouraged doings against his own Sense of the proprieties or with an Intention of the resulted wrong—knowing how much I suffered and that I Submitted to all out of respect for and Confidence in him—would not have failed on the present occasion from befriending me and have of his own movement procured a redress every ways proportionate extending the esteemation of the Indemnification due to what a few months of longer Continuance in the business must necessarily have all secured to me.—an estimation which how high so ever may here bring the Sum to Indemnify—none who have a knowledge and understanding of the nature and proprieties of all the performed will Consider any way above the merited nor Could it indeed be deemed so by them who may be judge of only the labour and fatigue—the tow first seasons of tryal of which all who withnessed will allow Committed me to more than the human frame and mind would be Capable of long Sustaining

8.—and lastly that—the Cases offered here for Consideration—are not Cases merely of a missing of gain or of deprprivation the causes of trivials embarrassment momentarily felt—but cases of real loss—of disappointment of absolute dues—of right dependency and of abuses altogether the cause the active cause of my total ruin—the cause of the total extinction of my resources in this Country and likewise of the loss of inheritance in my native—being the fact that being Invited to the entreprise of the city of washington at an

Epoch of revolution when the occurrences in my native Country proved the most destructive of any that have been to Individuals rental estate took away from me the possibility of exertions to have Saved mine and that whilst my attention necessarily diverted from the turning of my family fortune caused the entire ceasing of the Supply from parents whom did afforded to all my need both during the late war and till that time in this Country—it so proved that also the necessary abandon or neglect of all private Concerns that could have divided my attention from the City of washing-ton—were jointly the cause that—(on the vanishing of the grand prospect of fame and fortune by which I had been allured to the *Entreprise*) I was left without any thing on which to depend for Sustainance—since which vain though arduous my exertions were to retrieve—the disappointment also of the waited for employment in my line of engineer exhausting all my having and the assistance of my friends too—has plunged me in to an abyss of difficulties the endurance of which I have only been heartened to till this day by the reflection that I am deserving of better end.—

Closing here and Conscious that all in the foregoing is Strictly the true and precise exposition of facts and of their unhappy Consequences—pledging myself to that—it is nevertheless not upon the exciting of a sensibility of the wrongs which I suffered that I found my hope now in the Equity and munificence of the American national representation—my Encouragement so to hope from them rather deriving from a Confidence in their just sense and well appraising of the greatness of my *Entreprise* of at once creating a City to be the Capital of so vast an Empire and that in the Estimation of the national advantages therefrom to derive, they will allow me my Share of the merite.

whatever be the room for petty criticism as out of zeal to excuse the actual Incomplete State of thing seem bent to Shift off the blame on me by affectingly reproving the extensiveness of the plan and novelty of the distribution of the City of washington—fearing not the malignancy of such fault finder nor that of Jealouses where I have the approbation of my own mind for all what I did or Intended doing—relying on the honor of the Commissionaires themselves—in referring to them for the explanation of the Intention and conditions upon which my plan was framed and to tell how far they have Conformed to or deviated from—here I will rest upon the presumption of its being visible to all well discerning mind—

that the actual Inconveniency and difficulties under which Government will have for a while yet to Continue at the City of washington—are not the fault of the System of the plan of establishment nor Imputable to any of the management of the projector but—to the contrary that it is the natural necessary consequence of a departure from the rull of conduct first by me traced and Entirely the fault of the abandonement of the works by me began—nothing of which therefore can any wise diminish of the merite of original Intent nor make those great advantages (as after all soon or later, must result to the United States, the less attributable to the well Conception and grand Combination of my Scheme. upon which it may Suffice to remind

that the first gain, from my labour has been that—of an Immense property over and above the wanted for defrayment of the whole work of the city—that to me is equally due the great Increase of the wealth of all the Indigenous Individuals of the territory of Columbia as likewise will be the progressive enrichment of an Extensive Surrounding Country whilst manufac-

turers and mechanics will be benefited various ways whose genius and arts in all the respective relations the vast operations of the plan of the City were calculated for, and can not but yet by succession of time greatly advance to a rivalling of European Superiority.

thus to the recall (as per memoranda) of my military Services and Suffering in trying time of difficulties and hazard—being to be joined the recollection of many of my achievements and endeavours to an advancement of the genius for liberal arts and Sciences, I trust—that allowing me the merite of having been a zealous and primary promoter of a Spirit for great enterprises through the United States—the Consideration will be that—*I in no Instance worked to my profit* and that having had on all occasions the Glory and Interests of these United States at heart—my exertions as respect to the territory of Columbia were not Confined to the machinal drawing of plans nor to the Stupid overseeing of men.

therefore Safely here leaving off the Consideration of grievances—if such as are in the foregoing numbered were possible to be denied the redress and compensative prayed for—Still would I not renounce the expectation of a full Equivalent to that—in an other way on the Simple appraising of the merited by my Services and performances

relying upon this it is that I here confidently Supplicate that redress and Indemnification may be—for the Injury done to my fame by anonymous Spurious publication of my plans—and for the wrong to my fortune likewise owing to deprivation of the proceed from the Sale of my own work—from that of the learning by my labour and for other loss and Sacrifices the result of my zeal confidence and liberality.—testifying at the same time my position now became such as to ren-

der me pressing for a determination—it being absolutely upon what power I may obtain for a restoration of my former having that now depend my Existence—I remmain well persuaded but the prayer will be granted in all points answerable to my long dependency on the Honor the Justice and Equity of the American nation.—

P. CHARLES L'ENFANT

[Endorsement.]

Leg:

2D SESS: 6TH CONG:

No. 1.

Statement of the
Case of M. L'Enfant.

Decemr. 11th,
1800.

SOMETHING ABOUT L'ENFANT AND HIS PERSONAL AFFAIRS.

By Wilhelmus B. Bryan.

[Read before the Society February 18th, 1895.]

Neglect, lack of appreciation and ingratitude are generally conceded to have been the lot of L'Enfant, the designer of the plan of the nation's capital. This was his fate in life and posterity has done but little to make amends for the wrong and injustice. It may be that in the near future, his lonely and unmarked grave may be the site of a suitable monument and that in some appropriate place in this city a statue or other memorial will be erected to the genius of the man who designed the plan which confessedly has made Washington the most beautiful and attractive city in the world. Without wishing to detract anything from the fame of the man to whom honor is properly due and has been withheld too long and, indeed, in a spirit of the heartiest admiration for his genius, I have thought that it would be of interest to call the attention of the Society to some isolated facts about L'Enfant which are not generally known.

Whatever may have been the lack of appreciation of L'Enfant's ambition, as indicated by his lonely and neglected later years and the absence of any public recognition of his name and fame in the city which constitutes his chief claim to renown, it is quite certain that L'Enfant himself did not place a slight estimate

upon his abilities and his services. The favorable estimate of his contemporaries as to his attainments in the line of his profession seems to have been practically unanimous; although no doubt some of the early land-owners would have entertained a higher opinion of L'Enfant's plan of the city if it had allowed less space for streets and reservations and consequently added to the number of the square feet in the lots which they had for sale.

But among those in authority L'Enfant, as a designer, stood high and if it had not been for his "unfortunate disposition," as Washington put it, his connection with the city might have had a different termination. In contrast with the unanimity of favorable opinion entertained by L'Enfant, as well as by his contemporaries as to his abilities, may be cited the remarkable and striking divergence in regard to the value of his services.

In March, 1791, he received from Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, instructions to proceed to Georgetown to make drawings of the particular grounds most likely to be approved for the site of the Federal town and the buildings. He was told by Mr. Jefferson that the money for his necessary expenses would be supplied by the Mayor of Georgetown.¹ In accordance with these instructions, L'Enfant, in March, 1791, proceeded to the site of the future city.

The earliest visitor to the new city of whom we have any record, is Col. John Trumbull, whose historic paintings fill the panels in the rotunda of the Capitol. About the time the city was begun he was engaged in traveling around the country for the purpose of securing portraits of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On his way north from Richmond, in May,

¹ Sect. of State to L'Enfant, Reports, &c., 2nd Sess., 7th Cong.

1791, he states in his autobiography that he arrived in Georgetown, "where I found Major L'Enfant drawing his plan of the City of Washington; rode with him over the ground on which the city has since been built; where the Capitol now stands was then a thick wood."²

L'Enfant's connection with the city, after a service of just one year, ended in March, 1792, when, it being found impracticable to employ him, as Jefferson expresses it, "in that degree of subordination which was lawful and proper, he has been notified that his services are at an end." It seems that no definite arrangement was made in regard to his compensation and Jefferson, in a letter to the Commissioners, states that it is the wish that the reward for his services should be liberal, and that "the President thinks of \$2,500 or \$3,000."³

A few days later the Commissioners, in reply to Mr. Jefferson's letter, inform him that they have adopted the President's idea about compensation. They state that L'Enfant had already received about \$600 from them, besides his expenses of living and they expressed the opinion that he will have no cause to complain of having met with an inadequate reward.

On the same day the Commissioners write to L'Enfant, who is in Philadelphia, notifying him that they have deposited the sum of 500 guineas with a firm in Philadelphia, where he may apply for it. In addition they inform him that they will give him a lot, either near the President's House or near the Capitol, as he may choose.⁴ As is well known, L'Enfant, a few days later, rather curtly informed the Commissioners that he would accept neither the money nor the lot.

² Autobiography of John Trumbull, p. 166, New Haven, 1841.

³ Sect. of State to Commissioners, Reports, &c., 2nd Sess., 7th Cong.

⁴ Reports, &c., 2nd Sess., 7th Cong.

He was evidently too proud to enter into any explanation of why he did not accept the Commissioners' offer. How far the estimate of Washington, Jefferson and the Commissioners of the city of the value of the services rendered by L'Enfant fell short of the engineer's own estimate may be accurately determined, for L'Enfant has left a record of what he believed to be justly due him. It seems that his haughty attitude in regard to this matter was maintained for some eight years and then, in 1800, appeared L'Enfant's first memorial to the President and to Congress, stating his claim and asking a settlement.

In this document summarized by the committee on claims, which reported it adversely in 1802, L'Enfant mentions in detail the various items in his bill against the Government as follows: For his labor for one year, \$8,000; for the profit he had a right to receive from the sale of maps, \$37,500; and the further sum of \$50,000, to use the petitioner's own expression, "for perquisites of right in particular negotiations and enterprise." The total claim amounted to \$95,500.⁵

The difference between \$95,500 and \$2,500, even when the value of a lot in the city of Washington is thrown into the balance, must have been sufficiently striking to make an impression on such an artistic temperament as L'Enfant evidently possessed. It is probable that even a poet would have noticed this discrepancy between anticipation and realization, and, therefore, it need not be so surprising that L'Enfant was rendered speechless and remained so for nearly eight years.

After leaving the service of the city he seems to have found some employment as an engineer, but it was probably of irregular duration. Tradition has it that he spent considerable time in haunting the corridors of

⁵ Report Com. on Claims, Dec. 24th, 1802.

the Capitol building in the interests of his claim. He failed, however, to induce Congress to take the same view of the value of his services to the city as he did.

Following a period of delay which, it seems, was as characteristic of legislative consideration of such matters in those days as in later years, on the 27th of March, 1804, a bill became a law which, in one of its sections authorized the superintendent of the city to settle and pay L'Enfant's claim "in the manner, and on the terms heretofore proposed, by the said Commissioners." It seems, however, that the unfortunate engineer was deeply in debt and a creditor by the name of McRae secured a judgment and levied on the money which L'Enfant was authorized to receive. In consequence the necessities of L'Enfant, which had become extremely urgent, were not relieved by this measure.

Some four years later, in 1808, L'Enfant addressed the Superintendent of the city, calling his attention to the fact that this money had been taken by one of his creditors and explaining that the pressing need of securing the means to support his miserable existence was the reason that he again applied for assistance. He suggested that in the amount awarded to him under the act of Congress there had been some mistake in the calculation and, in his opinion, there was still due him some three or four hundred dollars. He asked the superintendent to look into the matter and inform him whether he could not draw on him for that amount. He stated that he would thus be able to pay a board bill due to a Mr. Rhodes and that about \$100 would be left for his own use.⁶

The history of the claim seems to have been closed by a bill which became a law in 1810, appropriating the

⁶ L'Enfant to the Superintendent of the city of Washington, April, 1808.

sum of \$666.66 with legal interest from March 1, 1792, to pay L'Enfant for services in laying out a plan of the city. The total amount received by L'Enfant under this act was \$1,394.20. It is difficult to determine why this exact amount was fixed upon, but it is not improbable that it was the balance remaining unpaid of the \$2,500, which Washington and Jefferson and the Commissioners believed to be a liberal compensation for his services.

Congress apparently was of the same mind. As has already been stated, the Commissioners informed Mr. Jefferson in 1792 that they had already paid L'Enfant \$600. With this exception and the one above mentioned, there is only one other record as far as I have been able to learn of an additional payment having been made to L'Enfant. At the first sale of the lots awarded to the Government in the division, the records show that L'Enfant became the purchaser of lot 30, square 137, which is on the west side of Seventeenth street, just north of H street. This sale was held in September, 1791. L'Enfant paid \$67 at the time of the sale and there was a balance due of some \$200. The price of the lot was 99 pounds, Maryland currency, or in the currency of the present day about \$267.⁷ The property was transferred to L'Enfant and several years later the balance due was paid by the city. L'Enfant subsequently transferred the lot to Richard Loderstrom and the latter in 1809 assigned the lot to Philip Barton Key.

The general outlines of the life of L'Enfant are pretty well known. He was a young man in the prime of life when he designed the plan of the city. He lived to the good old age of seventy. Nearly one-half of his life was practically spent in obscurity. As is well

⁷ House Report No. 90, 18th Cong., 2nd Sess.

known he lived for a number of years as a dependent at the home of William Dudley Diggs, on a farm near this city, now the property of the Riggs estate. He was buried there. Some writers claim that he lived in absolute retirement, never even visiting this city.

The late W. W. Corcoran recalled having often seen L'Enfant and said that he was a frequent visitor at his father's house. Mr. Corcoran described L'Enfant as a tall, erect man, fully six feet in height, finely proportioned, nose prominent, of military bearing, courtly air and polite manners, his figure usually enveloped in a long overcoat and surmounted by a bell-crowned hat.⁸ As far as known, no picture of L'Enfant is in existence, although in a history of the city of Washington, published as late as the year 1889, there is a cut of a handsome man, under which appears the inscription "Pierre Charles L'Enfant."

⁸Hugh T. Taggart's lecture, *The Evening Star* (Washington), Mar. 30th, 1893.

**MAJ. PIERRE CHARLES L'ENFANT,
THE UNHONORED AND UNREWARDED ENGI-
NEER,**

**By
James Dudley Morgan, M. D.**

[Read before the Society February 18th, 1895.]

It is a lasting disgrace upon the American Congress and people that one like Pierre Charles L'Enfant, in whom we find so much to admire and to reward, who has done so much for America, its Capital and the American people, should have, in the early summer and autumn of his life, (but for the kind and substantial aid given him by Thomas Attwood Digges of Warburton, and later by Wm. Dudley Digges, of Green Hill, the grandfather of the writer, where he died June 14th, 1825), depended (Exhibit A) upon charity for the most ordinary necessities to sustain life.

Pierre Charles L'Enfant was no beggar (Exhibit B) when he came to us from France in the early part of the year 1777. He was at that time a lieutenant in the French Provincial Service. In the autumn of that year he tendered his services as engineer in the Continental Army. He was born in 1755, of good parentage, and had relatives and friends of substantial means.

His original commission of Captain of Engineers bears date of February 18, 1778. He fought through

NOTE.—An authentic likeness of L'Enfant cannot be found.—Author.

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN
NATIVE AND FOREIGN LITERATURE
AND ARTS

BY

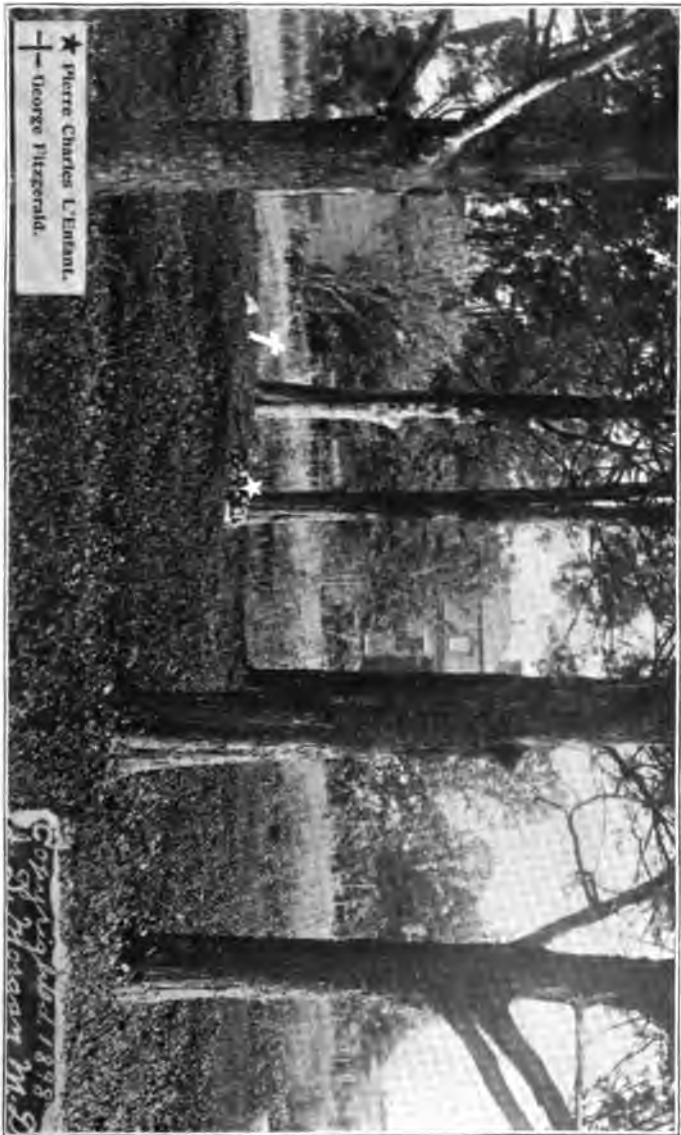
JAMES HENRY HARRISON, D.D.

CHURCHMAN, SOCIETY OF THE AMERICAN LITERATURE

The American literature, as it is called, is a very young one, and its history is a very recent one. It is a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature, and it is a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature. It is a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature, and it is a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature. It is a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature, and it is a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature.

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Not only is it a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature, but it is a literature which has been growing up in the midst of a great and powerful literature.



**THE GRAVE OF PIERRE CHARLES L'ENFANT,
WHO PLANNED AND LAID OUT THE
CITY OF WASHINGTON.**

"GREEN HILL," (OHLHAM MANOR), PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MD.

the Revolutionary War, shedding his blood for our cause on the battle-field at Savannah. He was a prisoner under Sir Henry Clinton; paroled May, 1780, by Major Stuart, Com. of Prisoners; exchanged, New York, January 17th, 1782. He was made Major of Engineers May 2d, 1783. At the close of the Revolution we find his services constantly in demand, more especially in the capacity of engineer and architect. A testimonial (Exhibit C) from the corporation of New York, dated 13th October, 1789, and signed by Jas. Duane, secretary, speaks of his distinguished merit and services. A most interesting letter is one (Exhibit D) dated 11th of June, 1789, from D. Humphreys, telling L'Enfant that "Mrs. Washington having postponed an engagement for Saturday next is desirous of seeing the Federal Building." A little earlier in the same year is a letter dated May 24th, 1789, from Alexander Hamilton writing thus to L'Enfant about the design for the medal of the Cincinnati: (Exhibit E) "You will not forget, I hope the devices for the coins. As soon as your imagination shall have fixed upon anything, I shall be glad to know it." He was the architect and builder of Robert Morris' house in Philadelphia, and here I shall stop for a moment to refer to the many inaccuracies and unwarranted allusions, which are made by most biographers of L'Enfant. The biography, though it may be brief, will most likely refer to him as the man who built the house of Robert Morris, which brought financial ruin to its owner; not seeking, perhaps not caring to know that L'Enfant did not reap the harvest; for in the writer's possession are (Exhibit F) uncanceled promissory notes of Robert Morris for large sums to L'Enfant. L'Enfant was also the engineer of Fort Mifflin, 1794, and later on of (Exhibit G) Fort Washington. In the fall of 1791 we find

him engaged in examining the quarries of Wigginton Island, Aquia, Va., for purpose of foundation stone for the Capitol of the United States, and on the 18th of November, 1791, he consummated a lease of these quarries from George Brent. He was appointed, July 7, 1812 (Exhibit H) "Professor of the Art of Engineering in the Military Academy of the United States." This appointment he did not accept, and wrote on the paper of notification, "unaccepted but not rejected—P. C. L'Ent."

What interests us most at this conversationé, are, first, documentary facts, and, second, written evidence tending to show what part L'Enfant took in laying out the City of Washington. The letters (Exhibit I) of Jefferson show very plainly of themselves that President Washington had left the planning of the city in the hands of L'Enfant. Jefferson writes, "I am happy that the President has left the planning of the town in such good hands." Under date of August 18, 1791, Jefferson writes to L'Enfant: "A (Exhibit J) person applied to me the other day on the subject of engraving a map of the Federal territory. I observed to him that if yourself or Mr. Ellicott chose to have this done, you would have the best right to it." L'Enfant under-scores the name, Mr. Ellicott, and writes on the margin of the paper in pencil, "what right could this man have thereto." On (Exhibit K) September 9th, 1791, the Commissioners direct Major L'Enfant to insert the soundings of the Western Branch in the map and also "we expect Major Ellicott will furnish you with the direction of a post-road, which we wished noticed in the map." In a (Exhibit L) letter of September 12, 1791, from Andrew Ellicott to L'Enfant, he says that "Jefferson and Madison appeared much pleased both with the plan of the city and the country which it cov-

ers." Further on in his letter he says: "I expected some directions from them (Commissioners) respecting the different plans, where the lots should be laid off, but received none." Ellicott finishes his letter, "I am, Dr. Sir, Your real friend." Tobias Lear writes Major L'Enfant from Philadelphia, Oct. 6th, 1791, that he had called on Mr. Pigal about "the plate of copper for the engraving of the Federal city; * * * that he requests to have your large draft of the city * * *. I shall call upon him again in the morning and will press him, if it is possible to get some done from the draft which he has." * * * The letter (Exhibit M) of Tobias Lear, October 12, 1791, to L'Enfant tells him, "I am desirous of obtaining a lot for myself in a pleasant and agreeable part of the city, provided the price does not exceed 500 dollars * * * ; the water lots on the Eastern Branch appear from the draft (of the map) to be best for that purpose." A true copy ((Exhibit N) of a letter from L'Enfant to David Burns, December 21, 1791, says that "agreeable to his request the squares, on which he wished to erect his house will be marked; the squares marked in the map No. 171 will border on one of the diagonal avenues to the President's palace," * * * Coming down to a later date are (Exhibit O) L'Enfant's estimates of expenses for carrying on the work for 1792, as he had laid down in his draft; also (Exhibit P) observations explanatory of the plan. It may be interesting, in closing my part of this short symposium on L'Enfant and Ellicott (for should time permit, the writer could present quite a voluminous communication, covering the time from L'Enfant's appointment as a captain in the Revolutionary army down to and including the declining days of his life, spent as a guest (Exhibit Q) of Wm. Dudley Digges at Green Hill, Prince George's

county, Md.), to read the testimonial (Exhibit R) to L'Enfant signed by all, except a few, of the original proprietors, and these few, as is well known, (Exhibit S) embarrassed and obstructed the project of laying out the streets of the city.

The Commissioners (Wm. Johnson, Dr. Stuart and Daniel Carroll), under date of March 23d, 1794, writing to President Washington, say, "You may recollect that several things in the course of the quarrel with L'Enfant strongly pointed to a duplicity and ill-intentioned conduct of Ellicott." L'Enfant was handled rather shabbily all around; his trunk with papers was purloined, (Exhibit T) his rough sketches and drafts of the city were withheld by his (Exhibit U) assistants (Ellicotts), and the very engraver (Exhibit V) whom Mr. Young, a publisher of a monthly magazine, had intended retaining to engrave the map for L'Enfant, was secured by other parties.

Poor L'Enfant has been accused of so many wrongdoings, that one is surprised to find how many things he did which were good.

He made every reasonable effort to continue at peace with the Commissioners. To his credit, and to our benefit, he fought to the last to have the Federal City laid out on grand, extensive and imposing lines. His appointment came from the President, and to the day of (Exhibit W) his "declining to serve further" if harassed and obstructed in his plans by the counter-orders of the Commissioners, he had the beauty and grandeur of the National Capital at heart and obedience and veneration for the President. The letter to Jefferson (Exhibit X) shows with what earnestness, enthusiasm and pride he entered upon his work, March 11, 1791; and his interest was never abated. He made every effort to expedite (Exhibits Y) the plan and en-

graving of the map of the city and showed his zeal and confidence in its future growth and importance by purchasing a lot (Exhibit Z) on October 18, 1791. The beautiful and touching letter of William Thornton (Exhibit XX) to Roberdeau, is re-echoed as sorrowfully to-day as over one hundred years ago: "I lament that a difference of opinion should have arisen between the late Commissioners and the ingenious Major L'Enfant. * * * I find that no compensation (Exhibit XXX) has yet been obtained by Major L'Enfant for the great exertion (letter torn) his genius and talents." * * *

EXHIBIT A.

Inventory of the personal goods and chattels of Peter Charles L'Enfant, taken by Anthony Deans and John Dodson, appraisors, appointed by the Orphans' Court of the District of Columbia:

Three watches (one silver and two gold) ..	\$30
One compass	10
One pocket do	1
One pocket do	1
One lot of surveying instruments and books	2
One lot of maps	1
(Exhibits of J. D. Morgan's paper on L'Enfant.)	

EXHIBIT B.

(Letter of Charles L'Enfant.)

Extract from letter to Moses Young, Consul-General for the United States of America to Madrid:

L'Enfant's Long and Unsuccessful Fight for Full and Just Monetary Recognition by Congress.

	Additional pay for planning and constructing Public Buildings at Washington.	Congress.	Session.	Page Journal.	Date Report.	Nature of Report.	No. of Bill.	How Disposed of by House.	How Disposed of by Senate.	Date of Act of Congress.
L'Enfant	Nature or object of claim.	6	2	738	Dec. 7, 1800.	Adverse.		Rejected.		
"	"	6	2	807				Discharged.		
"	"	7	1	19	April 15, 1802	Adverse.		Postponed.		
"	"	7	2	259	Feb. 17, 1803.	Favorable.		{ Referred to } { Committee of } { whole House. }		
"	"	8	1	444	Dec. 14, 1903.	Favorable.		{ Referred to } { Committee of } { whole House. }		
"	"	9	2	563						
"	"	11	2	120	April 27, 1810	Favorable.	143	Passed.	Passed.	Approved May 1, 1810.
"	"	11	3	469				Discharged.		
"	"	12	3	660						
"	Pay for planning City.	18			In Senate.					

2nd Session, 6th Congress in Senate December 11th, 1800.—A memorial of Pierre Charles L'Enfant for compensation in planning City of Washington and supervising Public Buildings, presented by Senator Langdon.

"I; at the onset on that unfortunate business had fortune, friends and relations, who generously supplied all my wants—they are no more—all have perished and with them my fortune and friends. I was not then in the habit of keeping tavern company. I kept a house, servants and horses and was obliged to have carried all my wants in the (woods)? I moreover made frequent journeys to Phila. to consult with the President on my business. * * * I merely mention the fact of the plunder of my office, papers, etc. to make manifest the difficulty of proving how considerable were the quantity of detail plans of the grand project and how the correspondence on the subject was also lost.

"At that time too the particular plan and copper plates by me prepared for engraving in the month of August '91 in Phila. had (by reason of the multiplicity of my other avocations at Washington) been unavoidably delayed and lodged in the best place of safety, into the hands of the President as is shown in documents No. 1. But although thus protected a number of my drawing copies had been made therefrom without my knowledge, such as were seen in both houses of Congress hanging on the Walls in December '91. Others were sent to Europe, viz, to Portugal and even to Petersburg in Russia. The Commissioners by means of an agent at Phil. in a surreptitious way procured the aforesaid plan prepared for engraving as shown by document No. —, and having effected the engraving prevailed on the President himself to cause the publication whereby having obtained the number of copies they wanted and becoming ultimately possessed of the copper plate they deemed themselves disengaged from the obligation of paying me the value of 10000 copies, which they had before in an affected manner requested

of me as the document No. —, which No. proves. * * *

"I found myself also deprived of considerable emoluments from the sale of the map of the city and not only my right to the exclusive privilege was rendered null, but the obliteration of my name from the title of the publication as the engraved plan itself will show, deprived me of the reputation of having originated the plan of the established city, now the accepted seat of the United States government. * * * This surely I cannot believe was either done or permitted to be done by the President Wn. and although the Comns. have represented it so, I cannot imagine it possible that the President's remembrance of the difficulty and magnitude of my labor and his former sense of my right to the exclusive privilege of publishing the map of the city could have become extinct, so very immediately as at the instant when the purpose for which he had hurried on the establishment of the city was so eminently assured by the indefatigability of my zeal and the liberality of my supplies of the greater part if not of the whole of the expense incurred.

EXHIBIT C.

(Letter from Jas. Duane, Sec., to Major L'Enfant.)

New York Office of Mayoralty 13th Octr. 1789.

Sir:

It is with very great pleasure that I present to you the enclosed Testimonial of your distinguished merit and services; in behalf; and by the unanimous order of the Corporation. While the Hall exists it will exhibit a most respectable monument of your eminent Talents as well as of the munificence of the citizens. With my

J. D. Morgan—Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant. 127

best wishes for your happiness and prosperity, I have
the Honor to be—with great esteem,

Sir

Your most obedient servant,

JAS. DUANE, *Sec.*

Major L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT D.

(Letter from D. Humphreys to Major L'Enfant.)

Sir:

Mrs Washington having postponed an engagement she had for Saturday next; is desirous of seeing the Federal Building on that day.—I have; therefore; taken the liberty of informing you; and of inquiring the hour which will be most convenient; in all respects; for making the visit.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt. and

Most humble servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

Thursday Mornng

11th June 1789.

Major L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT E.

(Letter from Alexander Hamilton to Major L'Enfant.)

May 24th 1791.

My dear Sir:

I received in due time your letter of the 8th of April; an early acknowledgment of which has been postponed by the hurry of business.

I thank you much for the full communication you have made me concerning the intended seat of Government, and will be obliged by a continuance of your observations and such further information as the progress of your operations may render interesting.

You will not forget I hope the devices for the Coin. As soon as your imagination shall have fixed upon anything I shall be glad to know it.

With very great regards,

I remain always Yr. friend,
& obed. Ser.

A. HAMILTON.

Major L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT F.

(Copy of promissory note from Robert Morris to L'Enfant.)

On demand I promise to transfer to Mr. L'Enfant or order, Twelve shares of the stock of the Bank of the United States for value Received. Philada. Octo. 22d. 1794.

ROBT. MORRIS.

12 Shares.

EXHIBIT G.

(Directions to send certain materials to Fort Washington to be delivered to Maj. L'Enfant, signed James Monroe.)

On Monday 19th to be sent to Major L'Enfant Fort Washington.

50 men with 15 or 20 wheelbarrows—spades and pick axes and a number of good axes. Carts will be wanted hereafter.

Timber will also be wanted for the work and some carpenters and masons and about 20000 Brick, some rough stone and lime of which a note will be given by Major L'Enfant.

Sept. 15th 1814

Major Marsteller.

Signed JAS. MONROE.

EXHIBIT H 1.

(Copy of appointment of Major L'Enfant to the professorship of the art of engineering in the Military Academy of the U. S.)

War Department, July 7th, 1812.

Sir

YOU are hereby notified that you have been appointed Professor of the Art of Engineering in the Military Academy of the United States

On receipt of this letter you will please communicate to this department your acceptance or non-acceptance of said appointment; and in case of acceptance remain for orders at your present place of residence.

Respectfully your obedient servant,

W. EUSTIS.

Peter Charles L'Enfant,
P. A. E. Washington.

(L'Enfant's comment)

Unaccepted but not rejected—P. C. L'Ent.

EXHIBIT H 2.

(Professor of Engineering, West Point.)

17th July, 1812.

Dear Sir:

I have this moment recd. your letter. I have not time to give you an answer on the several subjects to which it relates. My earnest advice to you is to accept the appointment conferred on you by the govt. It will deprive you of no claim which you now have, and provide you an honorable station, and support. Your creditors have no prospect in your present situation. This appointment may afford some hope. My wish therefore is that you accept it. You might write a letter to the secretary at war, and to the president, stating that more active service was desired, and enter into all the considerations which you think proper, but do not decline this appointment.

With regard yours,

JAS. MONROE.

Major L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT I.

(Letter from Thos. Jefferson to Maj. L'Enfant.

Philadelphia, Apr. 10. 1791.

Sir:

I am favored with your letter of the 4th inst. and in compliance with your request I have examined my papers and found the plans of Frankfort on the Mayne, Carlsruhe, Amsterdam, Strasberg, Paris, Orleans, Bordeaux, Lyons, Montpelier, Marseilles, Turin and Milan, which I send in a roll by this post. They

are on a large and accurate scale. * * * * *
I am happy that the President has left the planning
of the town in such good hands and have no doubt it
will be done to general satisfaction. * * * * *

Your most obedt. humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

EXHIBIT J.

(Letter of Thomas Jefferson to Maj. L'Enfant.)

Philadelphia, Aug. 18, 1791.

Sir:

The President has understood for some time past
that you were coming on to Philadelphia and New
York. * * * * *

A person applied to me the other day on the subject
of engraving a Map of the Federal territory. I ob-
served to him that if yourself or *Mr. Ellicot* chose to
have this done, you would have the best right to it.

* * * * *

I am with much esteem—Sir

Your very humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

(L'Enfant's comment:)

"What right could this man have thereto."

EXHIBIT K.

(Letter from the Commissioners of the District of Co-
lumbia to L'Enfant.)

George Town 9 Septemr. 1791.

Sir.

We have agreed that the Federal District shall be
called "The Territory of Columbia" and the Federal

City "The City of Washington" the Title of the Map will therefore be "A Map of the City of Washington in the Territory of Columbia."

We have also agreed the streets be named alphabetically one way and numerically the other, the former divided into North and South Letters, the latter East and West Numbers from the Capitol.

Major Ellicot with proper assistance will immediately take and soon furnish you with soundings of the Western Branch to be inserted in the Map; we expect he will also furnish you with the Direction of a proposed post-road which we wish noticed in the map.

* * * * *

EXHIBIT L.

(Letter of Andrew Ellicott to Maj. L'Enfant.)

Territory of Columbia, Sept. 12th, 1791.

Dear Sir:

Messrs Jefferson and Madison left this place on Friday last, they appeared well pleased with the plan of the City and the country which it covers. The Commissioners broke up last Saturday after sitting several days. * * * * * I expected some directions from them respecting the different places where the lots should be laid off; but received none—on that head I am at a loss—* * * * * I hope you will be with us soon, our family all send their respects to you.

I am Dr. Sir,
Your real friend,
ANDW. ELLICOTT.

Major L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT M.

(Letter from Tobias Lear to Maj. L'Enfant.)

Philadelphia, October 12th 1791.

Dear Sir:

Altho I know the present must be a very busy moment for you; yet I have ventured to request the favor of you to purchase a few lots in the City of Washington at the approaching sale, if it can be done agreeably to the following terms.

I am desirous of obtaining a lot for myself in a pleasant and agreeable part of the city, provided the price should not exceed five hundred dollars for the lot. The particular spot I must leave to your choice, for I am not enough acquainted with the ground to determine upon that. Some friends of mine of Massachusetts have applied to me to obtain for them some lots if it should be in my power to do it. * * * *

The water lots on the Eastern Branch Northeast of the entrance of the canal appear from the draft, to be best for that purpose; but of this you will be better able to judge than I am. * * *

With great respect & esteem

Dear Sir

Your most obedt. serv.

TOBIAS LEAR.

Maj. L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT N.

(Autograph copy of a letter of Maj. L'Enfant to David Burns.)

George Town, december 11nth, 1791.

Dear Sir:

Agreeable to your request of yesterday the Square

on which you desire to erect a house will be marked so as to enable you to proceed as conveniently and as immediately as you please in digging the foundation.

* * * * *

This square marked, in the map 171 will border on one of the main diagonal avenues to the President's palace; it will have a front on part of the square to that palace and will also view on the grand park & on many of the principal improvements—so it will be worth your attention to have the house of a proper dimension of fronts and in every respect combine comfortably with the plan of the intended improvements.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be dear Sir

Your most humble &

Obedt. servant

P. C. L'ENFANT.

Mr. david burns, Esq.

EXHIBIT O.

Memoranda:

*"Observations explanatory of the plan of the city by Major L'Enfant."

EXHIBIT P.

*"Estimate of expense for men, provisions and materials necessary for conducting the operations in the Federal City for 1792."

*The originals of Exhibits O and P in full are in possession of James Dudley Morgan, M. D.

EXHIBIT Q 1.

(L'Enfant invited to live with Wm. Dudley Digges.)

Green Hill, Febry. 4th, 1824.

Dear Sir:

I duly received your letter by George Gray and have to inform you that it would give me pleasure if you would come up and take your residence here. I have furnished George with what articles you may stand in need of at present; you will also be able to visit the city house at your ease and as often as you may please in order to attend to your business before Congress. I wish you would have all the papers and whatever you may think of any value packed up, so that when you leave Warburton, there will be nothing of importance belonging to me left behind. I shall send my wagon down again in a few days and at that time will send you a horse to ride up. I will also write you again. George Gray will have a list of the principal articles to be brought up. You may rest assured, Dear Sir, that I have considered your situation and know that it has been an unpleasant one; if a hearty welcome to Greenhill will make it more pleasant, I can assure you have it from all my family. As to the Blacksmith, he is hired to Mr. Dyer. With compliments to my Aunt and John, I am, Dear Sir,

Your obt. servt.,

To

WM. D. DIGGES.

Major L'Enfant,

Warburton,

Per George Gray.

EXHIBIT Q 2.

(Letter from William Dudley Digges to Maj. L'Enfant
at Warburton.)

Dear Sir:

I send you by Mr. Camden a mule which I hope you find acceptable—I wish you would send up by the wagon whatever you think, can be of any service to us here and what is not actually needed by my Aunt. I think you had better come up and take your quarters with me. Here you are welcome and your coming will give me great pleasure—any mode of conveyance that you will prefer you can be accommodated with. * *

* * * * *

I am dear Sir,

Your obt. servt.,

WM. DUDLEY DIGGES.

Green Hill, Md.

March 15th, 1824.

EXHIBIT R.

(Testimonials to Maj. L'Enfant, Signed by all except
two, of the Original Proprietors.)

Georgetown 9 March 1792.

Dear Sir:

I believe every Proprietor of lands within the federal City except two have signed the letter which I have now the pleasure to enclose. They send their sentiments respecting your return, or rather respecting their wishes on that subject, through Mr. Walker to the President, by this nights Post. Copy whereof should you wish it, I can furnish you. The Proprie-

tors of land conceive they cannot give you sufficient evidence of their sense of your services and exertions, in promoting the growth of the city; and they are anxiously solicitous for your return, expecting every advantage from your zeal and judgment.

I am with esteem and regard,

Dr. Sir,

Your most obedt. Ser.

URIAH FORREST.

(Signatures and Extracts from Testimonials.)

Georgetown 9 March 1792.

Dear Sir:

We find by communication from Philadelphia, that there is too much reason to apprehend that the city of Washington will lose the benefit of your future services—a circumstance which we lament extremely, not only from regard to our own interests, which we believe no other man so well qualified to promote by promoting the public object, but from a sense of justice to yourself—for we well know that your time and the whole powers of your mind have been for months entirely devoted to the arrangements in the city, which reflect so much honor on your taste and your judgment.

We still hope that some mode of accommodation may be devised to admit of your return on principles not derogatory to your own feelings nor injurious to the city. The Commissioners we trust whatever misunderstandings may have arisen, will be very much disposed (for they know and acknowledge your talents) to leave you without control, in all those things in which you would wish to be uncontrolled. * * *

At all events accept this testimony of our sense of your merits and of the obligations we owe you as per-

sons much interested in the city of Washington.

With respect and esteem, we are Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

ROBERT PETERS,
JOHN DAVIDSON,
SAM DAVIDSON,
JAS. M. LINGAN,
ABRAHAM YOUNG,
BEN STODDERT,
URIAH FORREST,
WM. KING,
WM. PROUT,
AVERTON CAM,
GEORGE WALKER,
DAVID BURNES,
ELPHAZ DOUGLAS.

EXHIBIT S.

(George Washington to Maj. L'Enfant.)

Philadelphia Novr. 28th. 1791.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 21st instant came duly to hand, as did one of the same date from Mr. Carroll of Duddington on the same subject. A copy of my answer to the latter is enclosed by which you will perceive I have proposed an accommodation. As a similar case cannot happen again (Mr. Carroll's house having been begun before the Federal District was fixed upon) no precedent will be established by yielding a little in the present instance; and it will always be found sound policy to conciliate the good will rather than provoke the enmity of any man where it can be ac-

complished without much difficulty, inconvenience or loss. Indeed the more harmoniously this or any other business is conducted the faster it will progress and the more satisfactory will it be, should Mr. Carroll adopt the first alternative mentioned in my letter to him—and there is no pressing cause for taking the building down this Winter, the materials will be less liable to injury by standing as they are and less apt to be stolen than if they should be taken down before the period should arrive for re-erection.

As there is a suspension at present of the business which took Mr. Ellicot's brother to Georgia there will be no occasion for his proceeding thither, until he shall receive further advice from me, or from the Department of War. But it is my earnest wish and desire that he would give every aid in his power to prepare for a large sale of lots in the Spring, agreeably to the sentiments which have been communicated to the Commissioners;—and it is moreover exceedingly to be wished that correct engravings of the city could be had and properly disseminated (at least) throughout the United States before such sale.

A great pressure of business at this time, prevents me from adding more than that I am with esteem and regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. Serv.,

GO. WASHINGTON.

EXHIBIT T 1.

(Affidavit of Major L'Enfant in regard to the loss of his papers, etc.)

Peter Charles L'Enfant being duly sworn deposes and saith: That towards the latter end of December

1791 being then employed by the President of the United States in the affairs of the City of Washington, he went to Philadelphia in order to consult with the President relative to the business entrusted to him. That during his absence and without apprising him of it, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia dismissed the agent and workmen employed by this deponent, refused them their due pay: that this proceeding was a breach of convention and stipulation with the Commissioners prior to his departure * * * * That immediately when the persons so employed were thus dismissed all the several papers, drawings, manuscripts, directions, everything relative to the projected work of the city at the time in the hands of the surveyors, or as was left at the several offices was seized upon and detained by the Commissioners or their servants. The trunk and several boxes containing books also collections of very costly engravings models of architecture, other plans of this deponent's own drawings for the Capitol and the President houses, these and all matters which he had in reserve such as preparatory designs for the city canal, for bridges, market-houses, the great walk and gardens and number of other sketches of projects for enterprise * * * * and vouchers for monies expended by him in his surveys while acting under the order of the President, were carried away from the place of his abode as this deponent has been informed and verily believes to the store of Messrs Cabott & Green and afterwards from the said store to the house of a Mr. Davidson; that his said trunk and boxes having been broken open all his papers, vouchers, plans and instruments, etc. were taken away and he has never recovered any part of them excepting one of the proposed plan of the city of Washington which

he received from Mr. Davidson * * * * * that the articles lost were of great value to him besides the real cost and that including the traveling and other expenses to which he was subjected in the discharge of his duty this deponent did expend of his own money eight thousand dollars at least exclusive of the monies with which himself and agent were chargeable at the time of the resignation of his employment. * * * *

P. CHARLES L'ENFANT.

Washington Feby. 8th, 1803.

Personally appeared before me the subscriber one of the justices of the peace for the County of Washington, District of Columbia, Peter Charles L'Enfant, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists of the Almighty God that the foregoing statement is just and true to the best of his knowledge.

WILLIAM THORNTON.

EXHIBIT T 2.

(Letter of Samuel Davidson to Major L'Enfant, sworn to before Thomas Corcoran.)

Georgetown 16th January 1802.

Major L'Enfant having lately called upon me for information and attestation respecting his property left in Georgetown at the time of his giving up the affairs of the city of Washington * * * * * I do now solemnly declare to the best of my knowledge, memory and belief that some time in the year 1793, Mr Francis Cabott told me that he caused to be carried to the brick house belonging to Mr. Thomas Beall in this town then in the occupation of a certain Mr.

George Leigh as a Tavern, and where the said Cabott and myself then had a room and boarded; certain trunk or trunks, box or boxes, said to contain Major L'Enfant's books and papers. That no part of them was ever placed under my care, that I never saw them or any part of their contents except the first plan exhibited by Gen. Washington, of the city of Washington, which plan Cabott brought into my room and requested my care of it, and which plan I did about two or three years ago deliver into Major L'Enfant's own hand, equally as safe as when first left with me. That some time prior to this meeting with Major L'Enfant, I received a letter from him requesting me to forward to him by the Stage, his property so left by Mr. Cabott
* * * * *

SAM DAVIDSON.

EXHIBITS T 3 AND U 3.

Mr. Ellicott returns his compliments to Major L'Enfant—the Plan he requests is with a young gentleman who has undertaken to do the writing.

Friday afternoon.

Major L'Enfant.

Copy of a Letter from Benja Ellicott, dated
Georgetown, January 27th, 1794.

To P. Ch. L'Enfant.

Enclosed you will find a letter of mine directed to the Commissioners requesting a Map which I procured of you in Jan. 7, 1792, it was taken away privately or rather stolen from the person with whom I left it. The Commissioners now refuse giving it up alledging that it is their property and that you are owing them money.

However if you will either continue your claim or assign your right of it to me, I have no doubt but they will be defeated in a law Suit now depending on that account, I am, &c.

EXHIBIT U 1.

(Letter of James R. Dermott to Maj. L'Enfant.)

Georgetown January 24, 1794.

Sir:

Conscious that a man of honor will never deny an injured person, that information which comes within his knowledge in order to assist him to wipe away calumnies which may reflect on his honor and reputation; on this ground I direct your attention and answer to the following queries: First, did you in January 1792 deliver to W. Benjamin Ellicott in trust to be returned to you a manuscript plan of the city of Washington of the same construction as you intended to have laid off the city: if you have please to describe it, what scale and if it was complete. Second, does that public appropriation delineated on the engraved plan of the city south of square No. 518 and on P. plan and which is intended for the Judiciary Department, accord with where you intended to have placed it. You'll excuse the liberty I as a stranger take with you when I inform you my character has been traduced by W. Andrew and Benjamin Ellicott, two characters perhaps experience has taught you to know. * * *

Sir, Your obedient servant,

JAMES R. DERMOTT.

EXHIBITS U 2 AND V 1.

(Autograph copy of a letter written by L'Enfant to
Tobias Lear.)

Phila., February 17, 1792.

My dear Sir:

Apprehending there may be some misconstruction of my late conduct and views as they respect a delay which has happened in the execution of a map of the city upon a scale suited to engraving and being so well convinced that enemies are not wanting through envy or base design of any other nature falsely to represent (more especially at this time) my every transaction as well as the motive by which I uniformly have been actuated, I take the liberty to address to you my ideas upon that subject which at a convenient season I request you will communicate to the President. I do this with more cheerfulness as it is the last letter I propose to write interfering in matters relative to the City until some system or arrangement is formed by the President whereby with certainty I may know in what manner in future the business is to be conducted.

To obtain this map to which I allude as correct as possible I had some time previous to my leaving Georgetown requested Mr. Benjamin Ellicott should delineate on paper all the work which had been done in the city, which being accurately measured and permanently laid down on the ground I intended to make the basis of the drawing of the remainder from the original plan, and upon a reduced scale for engraving—this was accordingly done; but though I will not say that it was intentionally withheld from me, not having had it in my possession, prevented me immediately on my arrival here to have the reduced draw-

ing begun according to my intention and promise to the President.

These circumstances and the difficulty of meeting immediately with a good draughtsman and an engraver to undertake the work forced a delay, but a desire to comply with the President's wish in obtaining as soon as possible that engraving, finally determined me to request the assistance of Mr. Benjamin Ellicott, who though not professional in drawing I conceived to be the most proper person to prepare the work in that part, more especially which himself and Mr. Roberdeau had with accuracy laid down upon the ground—the more to facilitate this I gave him the sketch which you had taken from the former undertaker of the plate, begging him to finish as much as he could in pencil only without the assistance of a large map which I had at that time in use, and by which we together would correct and compleat the whole—I daily attended the progress of the business in all its stages until Mr. Andrew Ellicott gave me to understand that he was ordered by Mr. Jefferson to attend himself to that business in consequence of which he had already agreed with an engraver, this determined me to concern myself no more about it being confident that the meaning of Mr. Jefferson's order to Mr. Ellicott could not be to publish the plan without my knowledge or concurrence, and convinced that it would not be completely finished without recourse to the large map in my possession.* I conceived it would be but proper to wait until I was called upon by him to review and correct the whole—In this manner passed some days, in the mean time, having had an application from Mr. Young, publisher of the monthly magazine for a plan of the city upon a reduced scale to place in the next number which indeed I had given

him reason to expect, I directed him to apply to Mr. Andrew Ellicott, who upon the application refused his assistance, Mr. Young informing me that his engraver would soon be engaged for Mr. Ellicott on the plate for the city, induced me to go to his house and see how far the draft was advanced. This draft to my great surprise I found in the state in which it now is most unmercifully spoiled and altered from the original plan to a degree indeed evidently tending to disgrace me and ridicule the very undertaking—inclined as I am to persuade myself this could not be the intention, and strange as it may appear that a gentleman to whom in every instance I have conducted myself with the greatest candour, and in whom I always have confided as a friend should, harbour a design so inconsistent, as to endeavour to destroy the reputation of one whose contempt for the little machinations of envy, has left him unguarded against the treachery of false friends—was it necessary it would not be here out of place to relate circumstances which in various periods when Mr. Ellicott engaged in the execution of the plan, led me to fear ill consequences might arise from an apparent desire to suggest ideas of his own, gradually to deviate from the original plan, which would tend to destroy that harmony and combination of the different parts with the whole, to effect which had been the chief object of my labour and concern—whither this inclination to originate, or improve upon my plan, can be attributed to inattention to the difficulties to be encountered in endeavoring to correct errors, which such innovation would necessarily create, or whither drawn by the allurements of party who are unconcerned in the complete success of the plan, to their interest. Certain it is that he has been induced to hazard opinions, and to

engage himself more forward to effect objects, which besides the impossibility to accomplish, he ought the less to have done, being not willing to reflect upon the conduct of Mr. Ellicott, nor of any individual farther than a simple relation of facts, from which conjectures may be formed in vindication of my real motives, which are none other than those arising from an anxious concern for the interest of the establishment. I shall close this by requesting you for a moment to think of the consequences that must result from offering to the publick an erroneous map—laying aside these delicate feelings so difficult for me to express in points where reputation and honour are most evidently concerned—to all this I should be more indifferent did I not with regret foresee the gratification to two or three individuals, that would result from so imprudent a measure, who desire no better foundation for contention and clamour than the publick appearance of a plan deviating in any degree from that by which the operations in the city have been governed.—I have the honor to be,

Your obedt. servant,

P. C. L'ENFANT.

P. S.—I this day sent to Mr. Andrew Ellicott for the plan together with other drafts necessary for me to redress the error notwithstanding his proceeding I was inclined to do to accelerate the engraving. But his having declined sending me that draft set it out of my power still to effect the object to my wishes and determined me immediately to address to you the foregoing.

NOTE.—“But by the manuscript stolen they got *all* that was wanted.”

EXHIBIT V 2.

(L'Enfant's written statement about engraving the map.)

At that time too the particular plan & copperplates by me prepared for engraving in the month of Aug, 91 in Phila. had (by reason of the multiplicity of my other avocations at Washington) been unavoidably delayed & lodged as in the best place of safety, into the hands of the Prest. But altho thus protected a number of drawing copies had been made therefrom without my knowledge, such as were seen in both houses of congress hanging on the walls in Dec. 91; others were sent to Europe, viz, to Portugal and even to Petersburg in Russia. The comrs also by means of an agent at Phila in a surreptitious way procured the aforesaid plan prepared for engraving.

EXHIBIT W 1.)

(See L'Enfant's note at bottom of this letter of Jefferson.)

Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1792.

Sir:

The advance of the season begins to require that the plans for the buildings and other public works at the Federal city, should be in readiness, & the persons engaged who are to carry them into execution, the circumstances which have lately happened have produced an uncertainty whether you may be disposed to continue your services there. I am charged by the President to say that your continuance would be desirable to him; & at the same time to add that the law

requires it should be in subordination to the Commissioners. They will of course receive your propositions, decide on the plans to be pursued from time to time, & submit them to the President to be approved or disapproved, & when returned with his approbation, the Commissioners will put into your hands the execution of such parts as shall be arranged with you, & will doubtless see from time to time that these objects, & no others, are pursued. It is not pretended to *stipulate* here however the mode in which they shall carry on the execution. They alone can do that, & their discretion, good sense & zeal are a sufficient security that those whom they employ will have as little cause to be dissatisfied with the manner as the matter of their orders. To this, it would be injustice to them not to add, as a motive the more in this particular instance, the desire they have ever manifested to conform to the judgment & wishes of the President. The same disposition will ensure an oblivion of whatever disagreeable may have arisen heretofore on a perfect understanding being established as to the relation to subsist in future between themselves & those they employ, in the conduct of the works. I must beg the favor of your answer whether you will continue your services on the footing expressed in this letter; and am with esteem, Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.,

THOS. JEFFERSON.

Major L'Enfant.

Note:

"In the letter to the President the 14th of January, it will show I was not behind in measure to determine a speedy renewal of the work." L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT W 2.

(L'Enfant declines to serve longer and "then is discharged.")

Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1792.

Sir:

From your letter received yesterday in answer to my last, and your declarations in conversation with Mr. Lear, it is understood that you absolutely decline acting under the authority of the present commissioners. If this understanding of your meaning be right, I am instructed by the President to inform you that notwithstanding the desire he has entertained to preserve your agency in the business, the condition upon which it is to be done is inadmissible, & your services must be at an end.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedt, humble servt.

THOS. JEFFERSON.

Majr. L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT X.

(L'Enfant's first letter from Georgetown to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson.)

Friday March 11—1791.

Sir:

I have the honor of informing you of my arrival at this place where I could not possibly reach before Wednesday last and very late in the evening after having travelled part of the way on foot and part on horse back leaving the broken stage behind.

On arriving I made it my first care immediately to wait on the mayor of the town in conforming with the direction which you gave me—he appeared to be much

surprised and he assured me he had received no previous notice of my coming nor any instruction relating to the business I was sent upon—however next day—yesterday morning—he made me a kind offer of his assistance in procuring for me three or four men to attend me in the surveying and this being the only thing I was in need of every matter has been soon arranged. I am only at present to regret that an heavy rain and thick mist which has been incessant ever since my arrival here has put an insuperable obstacle to my wish of proceeding immediately to the survey. Should the weather continue bad as there is every appearance it will I shall be much at a loss how to make a plan of the ground you have pointed out to me and have it ready for the President at the time when he is expected at this place. I see no other way if by Monday next the weather does not change, but that of making a rough draft as accurat as may be obtain by viewing the ground in riding over it on horse back, as I have already done yesterday through the rain to obtain a knowledge of the whole. I put from the eastern branch towards Georgetown up the heights and down along side of the bank of the main river and along side of Goose and Rock Creeks as far up as their springs.

As far as I was able to judge through a thick fog I passed on many spots which appeared to me realy beautiful and which seem to dispute with each other who command. In the most extensive prospect on the water the gradual rising of the ground from Carrollborough toward the Ferry Road, the level and extensive ground from there to the bank of the Potomack as far as Goose Creek present a situation most advantageous, to run streets and prolong them on grand and far distant point of view the water running

from spring at some distance into the creeks, appeared also to me possible to be conducted without much labour so as to form pounds for watering every part of that spot. The remainder part of the ground toward Georgetown is more broken--it may afford pleasant seats, but altho' the bank of the river between the two creeks can command as grand a prospect as any of the other spots it seems to be less commendable for the establishment of a city not only because the level surface it presents is but small but because the heights from behind Georgetown absolutely command the whole.

No proof of the ground between the eastern branch and Georgetown can be say to be of a commanding nature, on the contrary it appear at first sight as being itself surrounded, however in advancing toward the eastern branch these heights seem to sink as the waves of a tempestuous sea and when considering the intended city on that grand scale on which it ought to be planed, it will appear that the only height which would unavoidably.

In it a small town may easily be comprehended in the limit of such a one as is rendered by a proper management in the appropriation of the building that may be thereon erected, a means of protection and of security.

Such the few remarks which I have been able to make in a journey when the badness of the weather much impeded my progress. I therefore hope for your indulgence in hazarding to communicate them to you. I have the honor to be,

Sir, With very great respect,

P. C. L'ENFANT.

The Honorable Thomas Jefferson,
Secretary of State.

EXHIBIT XX.

(L'Enfant mentioned as Chief of Engineers.)

Sir:

It may therefore be proper to make an application to Major L'Enfant, & forward it, with his answer, to the Board, stating whether "the note of hand you have to Mr Francis Cabot, for £34,00.0 on account expressly of Major L'Enfant, then Engineer of the City," was by his order, or not; also copies of the papers "that show you were acting under written and positive orders from (him) the then chief Engineer"; if by his order, or according to his existing Engagement, I shall lay your claims before the Board, and am confident that Justice will be done to you.

I find that no compensation has yet been by Major L'Enfant, for the great exertion genius and talents. The Board, I am convinced, will consider his claims with attention, for they admit he has done much. The offer made to him by our Predecessors, he thought inadequate. I wish it could be known what he would consider as a compensation. I write now in my private capacity, seeking information for a future Day.

I am, Sir,

with respect,

and good wishes, Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM THORNTON.

City of Washington,

June 20th, 1795.

Mr. Roberdeau,

No. 159 Arch Street,

Philadelphia.

EXHIBIT XXX.

(Money due L'Enfant.)

Superintendents Office,
Washington, 14th February, 1803.

Sir:

I had the honor, late on Saturday Evening, of receiving your letter of that day, requesting to know whether the Lot and five hundred Guineas, offered to P. C. L'Enfant by the late Commissioners of the City of Washington, for his Services to said City, are now ready for him in case he should incline to accept them.

By the Act of Congress of last session, intituled "An Act to abolish the Board of Commissioners of the City of Washington and for other purposes," the Superintendent is directed to pay into the Treasury of the United States all money received by him, after paying the Debts of the Commissioners contracted in their capacity as such. If the lot and five hundred Guineas in question which were offered by the late Commissioners, and their successors also to Mr. L'Enfant, and by him rejected, in both instances, be now considered as within the definition of a Debt contracted by the Commissioners it will be paid by the Superintendent as soon as the funds of the City, (which are inadequate at present) will enable him to do so; but when that will be the case he cannot say with any certainty. If, however, the Superintendent should be called on to make payment without the further expression of the will of Congress on the subject, he is not at present free from doubt as to his duty or authority under the Act of Congress before mentioned, and the circumstances connected with the case.

With regard to Mr. L'Enfant's claim for money advanced to Labourers, which have not been reimbursed,

I am unable to speak with certainty, but I believe such a claim was never exhibited against the Commissioners, certainly not to my knowledge—and if the claim be just I think it must have been his own fault that he did not receive payment long since with various other sums which appear to have been paid to him for expenses incurred on acct. of the City.

I am at a loss to conceive of an occasion where it could have been necessary for Mr. L'Enfant to have advanced money to the public Labourers.—At the time he was engaged in the affairs of the City the Commissioners had perhaps from one to two hundred yearly Labourers who were regularly paid by the proper Officer of the City, and, with the Commissioners' approbation, were always subject to the commands of Mr. L'Enfant for the proper and necessary uses of the City. It may, however, be possible that in some of the cases of dispute and collision of authority which it appears arose between the Commissioners and Mr. L'Enfant he may have incurred expenses and advanced monies which the Commissioners may not have thought proper to sanction, and may have refused to reimburse.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Sir

Your mo. Obt. Servt.

THOMAS MONROE.

Honorable

John C. Smith,

Chairman of the Committee of Claims,

Congress.

Note. ("Not a cent on such account." L'Enfant.)

EXHIBIT Y.

(Draft of his Map in Philadelphia.)

Philadelphia, October 6, 1791.

Sir:

By the post of today I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 3d instant; and agreeably to your request, I immediately called upon Mr. Pigal, who, to my great surprise & mortification, informed me that he had not been able to get the plate of copper for the engraving of the federal city, till two days ago, and, that, in consequence thereof, it would not be in his power to have a single plate struck off sooner than the last of this month. I pointed out to him, in the strongest manner, the great disappointment, and probable detriment which would be caused by his not having fulfilled his engagement. He appeared fully sensible of it, and expressed the utmost concern at it; but protested that it was not a fault of his; he said he has spared no pains to get a plate suitable for the business, and had been deceived in the time of having it prepared for him, altho' he had used every means in his power to get it in time. He put into my hands the enclosed letter for you, which he says is upon the subject, and requesting to have your large draft of the City, as he does not think that which he has is sufficiently accurate. I shall call upon him again in the morning and will press him, if it is possible to get some done from the draft which he has—and in almost any manner, before the sale, as I am sensible of the great inconvenience you will suffer by being disappointed.—Nothing in my power to have it effected shall be left undone.

I am, Sir,

With great respect & esteem,
Your most Obdt. Servt.,

TOBIAS LEAR.

To Major P. C. L'Enfant.

EXHIBIT Z.

(L'Enfant purchases a lot. Situated West side 17th St.
I and K, N. W.)

AT a public Sale of Lots in the City of Washington, Peter Charles L'Enfant of Georgetown, Maryland, became purchaser of Lot number thirty in square number one hundred & twenty seven for the consideration of ninety-nine pounds Current Money of Maryland, on the terms and conditions published at the fame sale: And he hath accordingly paid one-fourth part of the said consideration money, and given Bond, with security, for the payment of the residue; on the payment whereof, with interest, according to the said Bond the said Peter Charles L'Enfant—or his assigns will be entitled to a conveyance in fee.

WM. JOHNSON,
D. D. STUART,
DANL. CARROLL,
Commrs.

18th October, 1791.
Square No. 127, Lot No. 30.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF MAJOR ANDREW ELLICOTT.

By Mrs. Sally Kennedy Alexander.

April, 1896.

The name of Andrew Ellicott is so closely associated with the earliest history of the National Capital that any light which may be thrown upon his life should be of great interest.

Especially to those so fortunate as we, to live in a city unrivalled for beauty in our broad land, which result he was in part instrumental in securing.

Andrew Ellicott was descended from English ancestry, and was a member of the Society of Friends. His paternal grandfather, Andrew Ellicott, emigrated from England to America in 1731. One son, Andrew, came with him. His wife remained in England, and she and her husband never met after the first parting. Their devotion to one another remained unabated. She is represented as a woman of great goodness, intelligence and beauty, worthy of her husband, a man of high character in every respect, and one of nature's noblemen. The following quaint lines were written by her on the departure of husband and son for America:

Through rocks and sands,
And enemies hands,
And perils of the deep,
 Father and Son,
 From Collosson,
The Lord preserve and keep.—1731.

Arriving in America they settled in Pennsylvania, purchasing one hundred and fifty acres of land in Bucks County. Joseph Ellicott, father of the subject of this sketch, and son of Andrew, who came from England, was distinguished as a mathematician. He made a visit to England in 1776, purchasing many valuable mathematical instruments. On his return he constructed a musical clock, the wonder of the day, and in this was assisted by his son Andrew, a lad of fifteen years. This clock was incased in mahogany in the shape of a four-sided pillar or column, about eight feet high, each side of which was neatly finished. On the capital of this pillar was the clock with four faces, it being designed to stand in the centre of the room or sufficiently distant from the wall to allow an observer to pass around it. On one face was represented the sun, moon, earth, and planets, all moving in their different orbits, as they do in the heavens. On another face were indicated the seconds, minutes, hours, days, months, and years, the years representing one century, all having their different hands, pointing to the true time. Also the image of the moon, by which its age and apparent light are registered. On the third face were indicated the names of twenty-four musical tunes, being favorite ones of the times before the American Revolution. In the center of this face is a pointer, which being placed against any named tune repeats it. The smaller cylinder played a tune every hour, and the larger one every three hours. The smaller one, before striking the hour, the larger cylinder after striking the hour. On the fourth face was to be seen through the glass the curious mechanism of the clock. This wonderful clock is now in possession of a member of the Evans family in New York. In the share he had in this work

Andrew early evinced a talent for that profession which so distinguished him in later years. He was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, January 24, 1754. His parents were Joseph and Judith Ellicott. He married Sarah Brown. In December, 1774 he removed with his family to Ellicott's Upper Mills. The history of the Ellicott family proves them to have been great benefactors to their age, by the important and useful inventions they made. He pursued, with the practical obligations of the day, his scientific studies. To astronomy he was especially devoted, and soon his unusual talent brought him into association with scientific men and membership in society for promotion of science. Perhaps a more detailed account of the Quaker progenitors of Andrew Ellicott may be of interest, as the scene of their busy life is in our immediate vicinity. Indeed, soon we will be able to take an electric car, and in possibly an hour, alight and enjoy a stroll along the beautiful, romantic and wooded banks of the Patapsco, whose solitudes the Ellicotts were the first to invade. Joseph and Judith Ellicott, in removing in 1774 to the banks of this wild river, took with them their nine children, and six orphan children of a deceased friend and former neighbor, William Evans.

Two extensive tracts of land were purchased, and mills built upon them. To one was given the name of Ellicott's Lower Mills, to the other Ellicott's Upper Mills. They also constructed a mill at Jones' Falls and established an iron foundry at Elk Ridge Landing. The upper mills, in a division, was assigned to Joseph Ellicott. The family mansion built by him yet remains. It had extensive gardens, both useful and ornamental, in which was a fish pond, constant flowing fountain, the water coming by an iron pipe from an

unfailing spring on high adjacent ground.*

This place is now shorn of much of its former attraction. The writer, with her honored father, a descendant of the Ellicotts and inheritor of the old homestead, was passing the summer of 1868 in it, when the terrible flood of the Patapsco occurred and fifty lives were lost at Ellicott City. The water arose to the second floor of this old home and left a debris and deposit, which forever destroyed many of the attractive features of the place.

Martha E. Tyson, in her recollections written in 1861, says:

The officers and men of the troops of the King of France, the friend of our young Republic, were stationed a considerable time in Baltimore, in 1781, on their way from the head of Elk to Virginia. They made frequent excursions into the country around, in pursuit of small game, which was abundant in a region so recently a wilderness. They often extended their rambles to Ellicott's Upper Mills. A fine store had been built in 1775,—rich silks and satins and brocades were purchased in New York and Philadelphia, and shipped to Elk Ridge landing, thence to the Mills. These officers were frequent visitors at the store, and ladies from Baltimore, often took the trouble to ride some eleven miles to make purchases, and considered themselves well repaid for doing so. The family residence at Ellicott's Upper Mills was a very beautiful happy home, and the scene of many family pleasures and reunions. The plates and dishes used on the dinner table were a heavy metal, and kept bright as silver. They were purchased by Joseph Ellicott in London. In this house a hall was built for the musical clock.

* It appears that this was the first instance in this country of water being conveyed through underground conduits.

The side piazza overlooks the Patapsco, some two hundred feet distant, sparkling and singing merrily over its rocky bed as it moves between its banks, on one hand precipitous, and clothed in beautiful forest, the other with rich garden land along its length. The old Frederick turnpike passes immediately in front of the house, and is continued over the river by a gracefully-constructed bridge. Such was the home of Andrew Ellicott at one time. His accomplishment in the sciences of astronomy, and mathematics, did not permit him to remain long in the seclusion of Fountain-vale, as the place was called. Positions of honor were soon offered him, and the remaining years of his life were passed in scientific pursuits.*

Although a member of the Society of Friends his loyalty to his Government was made conspicuous by Governor Johnston of Maryland, who commissioned him, in May, 1778—Captain, then Major, of Elkridge Battalion of Militia, Ann Arundel county. In the year 1784 he ran the boundary line between the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In a letter to his wife, dated September 16, 1784,—he says, "On Monday next I shall leave this place Summit of Mt. Welcome, and begin to run the boundary line between Virginia and Pennsylvania. I am thinking every minute about you, and our dear children, and praying the Divine Ruler of the Universe, to take you under his care until my return, a meeting that would be more joyful to me than the greatest estate or superb title." His letters

* Robert Patterson, afterward Vice-President of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, was the preceptor of his youth and in his (Andrew Ellicott's) journal of the survey of the Southern Boundary line of U. S., 1797-1800, he addresses his astronomical and miscellaneous observations to him. "You are entitled to it from me in more particular manner as the preceptor of my youth and at all times my disinterested friend."

to his wife are always full of affection, and he writes again to her on November 19 of his arrival at Beesontown: "I find myself more rejoiced at the prospect of once more returning home, and enjoying the pleasures of domestic happiness. My ambition is nearly satisfied. I have without the interest of friends or my own application, been appointed to various posts. Nominated by the State of Virginia, one of the Commissioners, on this important occasion, applied to by Congress, to assist at the division of the New States, and presented by the University of Williamsburg in Virginia with the degree A. M." Arriving at Upper Ellicott's Mills late in November, he found his family in bad health, a son ill, who lingered until March of 1785. Owing to the sickly state of his family, he resolved to move to Baltimore, which he did in April, 1785, and resided on the east side of Liberty street, south of and near Saratoga street. In 1785 he was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, jointly with David Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter, a commission to locate the Western boundary of that State. Their commission was dated at Philadelphia, May 5, 1785. They were accompanied on this expedition by his brother, Joseph Ellicott. In May, 1785, Andrew Ellicott visited Philadelphia, and spent some time with Mr David Rittenhouse. He writes in that year: "I went by particular invitation to spend the day with Dr. Franklin. I found him in his little room among his papers. He received me very politely and immediately entered into conversation about the Western country. His room makes a singular appearance, being filled with old philosophical Instruments, Papers, Boxes, Tables and Stools. About 10 o'clock he sat some water on the fire, and not being expert through his great age, I desired him to give me the pleasure of assisting him,

he thanked me, and replied that he ever made it a point to wait upon himself, and although he began to feel himself infirm, he was determined not to encourage his infirmities, by giving way to them. After the water was hot I observed his object was to shave himself, which operation he performed without a glass, and with great expedition. I asked him if he never employed a barber he answered 'no,' and continued nearly in the following words, 'I think happiness does not consist so much in particular pieces of good fortune that perhaps accidentally fall to man's lot, as to be able in his old age to do those little things which, was he unable to perform himself, would be done by others with a sparing hand.' Several foreigners of distinction dined with us, and about 9 o'clock in the evening took my leave of this venerable Nestor of America." Continuing on the 6th—in his diary, he writes of an episode which seems to have put him in a very bad humor. "Examined several book stores, while I was in one a macarony looking fellow came in, and asked for some music, but not being able to find what he wanted, he swore the natives of this country had no kind of taste for the fine liberal arts. I conceived myself aimed at by the general reflection and asked him upon what principle he made such a general reflection, he answered I have now sought this town all over and am not able to find a particular piece of music. Perhaps Sir you are a Music Master? Yes Sir at your service. Upon my word Sir it is very extraordinary for a teacher of music, to pass general reflection upon all the natives of the United States. You who are only a Professor of one of the least of the polite arts, has ventured to condemn a whole continent for want of taste in the fine arts as you term them. If you had a genius for visiting our Seminaries of learning, and possessed of one

degree of candour, you would freely acknowledge your mistake. He saw my ill nature and left me to my own reflection." In this same "journal" he expresses in the following year his love for his "native country," and regrets at the divided and distressed political state of this Commonwealth. He alludes to a third party just coming into existence, "They call themselves New Adopted Sons of Pennsylvania, I fear they are now opening Pandora's box,"—a soliloquy follows—"What a being is man, see him professing the meek and divine religion of Christ, see how on the days of divine service like a Saint humbly calling upon the object of his Faith for spiritual assistance, and see this same meek humble imitator of his Master, armed with envy, and discord, destroying the repose and quiet of his fellow mortals, and you will have a picture of Man.—how are the exceptions to this picture to be admired." During this visit to Philadelphia he also writes,—“I expected that I should at least be clear of persecution from schemers during my stay in this city, but my expectations were vain. I am now pestered with a gentleman by the name of Fitch, who has a model of a Machine for working Boats up Rivers, by a steam engine. It is well known from experiments that steam may be carried to any degree of strength, but whether its force can be applied with the complicated machinery to advantage can only be determined by actual experiments.” Andrew Ellicott frequently expresses his intense enjoyment in Social intercourse, and in the following shows his attachment to his friend, David Rittenhouse:—Nov. 4th. “Spent the forenoon and dined at the University with the President, and Rev. John Ewing, D. D. In the evening returned to my good friend, Mr. Rittenhouse, where I find real satisfaction, his philosophy, and agreeable manner, his lady’s good sense, and un-

common good nature, added to the lively conversation and wise observations of the Daughters, would make even a monkey fond of their Society." On April 17th, 1786, he again visits his friend, and observes that he was "received with the usual marks of real friendliness, and by desire took up my lodgings with him," and continues as follows: "As I have formerly spoke of his amiable family I shall not again attempt it under full conviction that it is not in my power to do them justice." The next entry of interest is,—“After breakfast went to find the lodgings of the Commissioners from New York, and visited them Incog. General Clinton appears to be a thoughtful old gentleman, and Mr. Dewit, a man of 27 or 28, from report he is a gentleman of strong natural parts, and observations, for one of his age. After informing them that the gentleman from Baltimore had arrived and expected them at Mr. Rittenhouse's to-morrow at 11 o'clock, A. M., I took my leave." His opinion of music seems to have undergone a slight modification, as evinced by the following quotation from his diary: "In the afternoon, to my great joy, Col. Porter, came to Town. In the evening attended our Philosophical Society, a great number of respectable members present, returned at 11 o'clock at night, and am now listening to Miss Hattie's vocal music. 'Music, thou softener of the Savage mind. Thou power divine, how little attention do we pay to thy merits, and how ill are thy services recorded. To thee we apply for consolation, and look for thy assistance in our devotions.'" While a resident of Baltimore, Andrew Ellicott represented the city in the Legislature of Maryland. He was offered a second term, but decided political life was not in harmony with his Quaker taste and education, so declined. He seems to have devoted much time to the study of astronomy. He removed

from Baltimore to Philadelphia. He was at this time called "Geographer General."

January 20th., 1786, he was elected by the following action a member of the American Philosophical Society:

GREETING.—The American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, desirous of advancing the interest of the Society by associating to themselves men of distinguished eminence and of conferring marks of their esteem upon persons of literary merit, have elected Mr. Andrew Ellicott a member of the said Philosophical Society, hereby granting unto him all the rights of fellowship, with all the Liberties and Privileges thereunto belonging.*

Writing from Baltimore, May 9, 1786, he says: "Yesterday I attended the Quaker Quarterly Meeting. Our meditations were interrupted but once, and then only for a short time. My speculations turned accidentally upon that easy sum for the Quadrature of the circle, found out by Mons. Leibting." * * *

Benjamin Franklin writes of him under date of August 10, 1789,—“I have long known Mr. Andrew Ellicott as a man of science, and while I was in the Executive Council have had frequent occasion in the course of Public business of being acquainted with his abilities in Geographical operations of the most important kind, which were performed by him with greatest scientific accuracy.” He signs himself “B. Franklin, late President of the State of Pennsylvania.”

It was commonly thought that the Town of Erie, Pa., was within the survey of New York. So strongly was this believed that Pennsylvania offered at one time to purchase Erie in order that an outlet to the Lake might

* I have the original commission, signed by Benjamin Franklin, President; John Ewing, Wm. White, Sam Vaughn, Vice-Presidents.

be secured. The following is the commission, now in the writer's possession, given to Andrew Ellicott to mark the correct lines.

"To all Who Shall See These Presents Greeting—
Whereas on the sixth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, the said U. S. then in Congress Assembled did among other things, Resolve that the Geographer of the said States, be and he hereby was directed to ascertain by himself or by a Deputy duly appointed for the purpose the boundary line between the United States and the State of New York, and Massachusetts, agreeably to the deeds of cession of the said States, and further that the said Geographer or his Deputy, having run the meridian between Lake Erie, and the State of Pennsylvania, and marked and noted down in his field book proper land marks for perpetuating the same, should proceed to make survey of the land lying West of said line between Lake Erie, and the State of Pennsylvania, so as to ascertain the quantity thereof, and make return of such survey to the Board of Treasury and whereas the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States by a concurrent resolution passed by the latter on the tenth, and previously by the former on the 19th, of August * * * [imperfect] * * * directed by Congress in the aforesaid act June 6th, 1788, he made and returned to the Secretary of the Treasury without delay and that the President of the United States be requested to appoint a fit person to complete the same. Know Ye that in pursuance of said request, I have appointed and by these presents do appoint, Andrew Ellicott, of the State of Maryland, to complete the said survey, as directed in and by said act of Congress of the Sixth of June 1788, and by concurrent Resolu-

tion of the Senate and House of Representatives above mentioned. Given under my hand at the City of New York the fifth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

GEO. WASHINGTON."

In this survey Andrew Ellicott was assisted by his two brothers, Joseph and Benjamin.

From the evidence here given of Washington's appreciation of the talent of Major Ellicott it will not be a matter of surprise that so soon thereafter his appointment as Surveyor of the new City of Washington should meet with the President's approval.

It was while engaged in the last mentioned survey that Andrew Ellicott, and his brothers Joseph and Benjamin, had their first view of Niagara Falls. Under the supervision of Andrew Ellicott the first accurate measurement of the entire length of Niagara river, the fall of the river from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, the height of the great fall and rapids, was made. This measurement remains the accepted measure of to-day. In 1790 Phelps and Gorham sold to Robert Morris land lying between their possessions, and those of the Indian Lessee Company, Western New York. Robert Morris engaged Major Ellicott to resurvey the land. The line, as run by the surveyor of the Lessee Company, was found to be incorrect, and the difference was 84,000 acres in favor of Robert Morris,—so carefully and correctly was this survey made that the result was never disputed. Now we reach the date when the career of Andrew Ellicott will perhaps be of greater interest to us. It will readily be appreciated from what has already been written of Ellicott, that he was a man distinguished in his profession; a man who commanded the confidence of Washington, and one who must, from

natural talent, cultivation, and practical experience, have given more than the service of surveyor in the performance of the duty which is now to devolve upon him in connection with the work within the ten miles square.

The letter of earliest date (a copy in writer's possession) touching the work of preparing the new Capital,—is dated Philadelphia, January 15, 1791, and says:

The President thinking it would be better that the outline at least of the City, and perhaps Georgetown should be laid down in the plat of the territory. I have the honor now to send it and to desire that Major Ellicott may do it as soon as convenient, that it may be returned in time to be laid before Congress.

I have the honor, &c.,

THOS. JEFFERSON.

Messrs Johnson, Stuart
and Carroll.

The second is dated Philadelphia, February 2, 1791:

To Major Ellicott,—

Sir:—You are desired to proceed by the first stage to the Federal territory on the Potomac, for the purpose of making a survey of it. The first object will be to run the two first lines mentioned in the enclosed proclamation to wit:—the S. W. line 160 poles and the S. E. line to Hunting Creek or should it not strike Hunting Creek as has been suggested then to the River. These two lines must run with all the accuracy of which your art is susceptible as they are to fix the beginning either on Hunting Creek or the River, if the second line should strike the River instead of the Creek take and lay down the bearing and distance of the

nearest part of the creek and also of any of its waters if any of them should be nearer than the creek itself; so also should either of these two lines cross any water of Hunting Creek let it be noted. The termination of the Second line being accurately fixed, either on the creek or river proceed to run from that at a beginning the four lines of experiment directed in the proclamation, this is intended as the first rough essay to furnish data for the last accurate survey. It is desirable that it be made with all the dispatch possible and with only common exactness, paying regard however to the magnetic variations. In running these lines note the position of the mouth of the Eastern Branch, the point of your first course there will receive the S. W. line from the Cape of the Eastern Branch,—the Canal and particular distance of your crossing it from either end, the position of Georgetown, and mouth of Goose Creek, and send by Post, A plat of the whole on which ultimate directions for the rest of the work shall be sent you, as soon as they can be prepared. Till these shall be received by you, you can be employed in ascertaining a true Meridian, and the latitude of the place, and running the meanderings of the Eastern Branch, and of the River itself, and other waters which will merit an exact place in the map of the Territory. You will herewith receive a draft on the Mayor of Georgetown to cover your expenses.

TIL. JEFFERSON.

P. S.

The President writes by Post to Mr. Beall Mayor of Georgetown to furnish you with money for your expenses for which therefore you may apply to him without further order.

The next letter bears date of Feb. 14th, 1791 (copy) written either to the President, or to Mr. Jefferson by Major Ellicott,—

Sir:—I arrived at this town on Monday last, but the cloudy weather prevented any observations being made until Friday which was very fine. On Saturday the two first lines were completed. You will see by the enclosed plat that the second line does not touch any part of Hunting Creek unless the spring drain noted in the plat is to be considered a part of it. It appears to me that in order to make the plan as complete as possible it will be proper to begin the survey of the ten miles square at the Eastern inclination of the upper cape of Hunting Creek, marked on the plat. This plan will include all the Harbor and wharfs of Alexandria, which will not be the Case if the two first lines mentioned in the proclamation are to remain as now. I shall submit to your consideration the following plan for the permanent location which will I believe embrace every object of advantage which can be included within the ten miles square. [Many erasures follow and indistinct writing.]—as marked in plat A. The magnetic variations at this place is somewhat uncertain, arising no doubt from some local cause. It was 20 easterly when the second line struck the river and at the end of the first line, it was nearly as much Westerly. The Latitude of Alexandria, I find to be about 33 48 20 N. This afternoon I intend beginning the rough survey which shall be executed with all possible dispatch, [more erasures]. You will observe by the plan which I have suggested for the Permanent Location a small deviation with respect to the compass from that mentioned in the Proclamation, the reason of which is that the Coup's in the Proclamation, strictly adhered to, would neither produce straight lines, nor

contain quite the ten miles square, besides the utmost impropriety of running such lines without tolerable exactness. I am Sir with greatest respect and esteem your o'b'd't Servant.

ANDREW ELLICOTT.

About the same time, Ellicott addressed his wife as follows:

Alexandria, Feb. 14th, 1791.

My dear,—

I arrived at this Town on Tuesday, last in good health but in consequence of bad weather, could not proceed to business till Friday last. I have been treated with great politeness by the inhabitants, who are truly rejoiced at the prospect of being included in the Federal district. I shall leave this town this afternoon to begin the rough survey of the ten miles square. I am my dear your affectionate husband.

A. ELLICOTT.

The letter of next nearest date in my possession is dated from Georgetown, March 20th, 1791—to his wife. "I have taken a few minutes to write you by Col. Thompson, who I expect will deliver this together with a small bundle containing a pair of black silk mits, and a small smelling bottle, which I hope you will receive as a small testimony of as pure affection as ever had place in the Human Breast. I have met with many difficulties for want of my old hands, and have in consequence a most severe attack of influenza worked for many days in extreme pain. I am now perfectly recovered, and as fat as you ever saw me. . . . The President will be here next Monday, and after I receive his future orders, you shall hear from me." . . .

He here alludes to the joy it will afford him to meet her, and continues, "it is now late at night and my letter carried to a great length, but when I call to mind our happy connection, the consequence of an early attachment, founded in Virtue and Love, I know not where to conclude. So many objects pleasing to my recollection crowd in upon me. I am dear Sally your affectionate husband,

ANDREW ELLICOTT."

One cannot fail to admire the spirit of devotion which this letter breathes. The following letter is also addressed to his wife.

Surveyors Camp, State of Virginia,

June 26, 1791.

My dear Sally;—

Since my last which was forwarded by our friend Adam Hoops, nothing material has transpired except the return of the President. I have found the weather in this country extremely hot, partly owing I suppose to the want of rain, having had but three small showers since I left you last. The country through which we are now cutting one of the ten mile lines is very poor. I think for near seven miles, on it there is not one house that has any floor except the earth, and what is more strange it is in the neighborhood of Alexandria and Georgetown. We find but little fruit, except huckleberries, and live in our Camp as retired as we used to do on Lake Erie. Labouring hands in this country can scarcely be had at any rate, my estimate was twenty—but I have to wade slowly thro' with six, this scarcity of hands will lengthen out the time much beyond what I intended. As the President is so much attached to this Country, I would not be willing that he should know my real sentiments about it. But with

you my dear whose love and affection I have constantly experienced almost from our infancy, I am not afraid to make my sentiments known. This country intended for the permanent residence of Congress, bears no more proportion to the country about Philadelphia and Germantown, for either wealth or fertility, than a crane does to a stall fed ox. I have enclosed a check on bank for fifty dollars which I expect will by this time be acceptable. I pray that the Supreme director of Human wants may preserve you and our dear children.

The next letter at my command is written from Georgetown, August 9th, 1791. My Dear Sally:—Next Monday two weeks at farthest I shall leave this for Philadelphia. I am now so completely tired of being from home that I would willingly resign my appointment rather than suffer so much anxiety and pain. After the business is finished in Georgia, I am determined though poverty should pursue me to live at home, and cherish the most affectionate of wives. Do not my dear send me any bad news, my present frame of mind would suffer extremely by it and it might only prolong the time of my return * * * We have a most elegant camp, and things in fine order, but where you are not there are no charms. I expect my companion Major L'Enfant, which is pronounced in English Lonfong, will pay you a visit in my name sometime next week, he is a most worthy French gentleman and tho' not one of the most handsome of men, he is from his good breeding, and native politeness, a first rate favorite among the ladies. I am my dear Sally, &c.

Yet another letter to his wife dated Georgetown Oct. 17th, 1791,—My dear Sally,—Lady Washington, has undertaken to have this handed to you immediately on her arrival in Philadelphia. The most pleasing information I can give you at present is that I am in

good health; but hurried off of my legs and bothered out of my senses. This is the day of the sale of Public lots in the new city of Washington, you may expect that I have but few leisure minutes for writing. Lady Washington will leave this place immediately. I am dear Sallie, &c.

Closely upon this time November 20th., 1791—President Washington and Mr. Jefferson found it difficult to continue the work in a satisfactory way with Major L'Enfant. Jefferson wrote, "it has been found impracticable to employ Major L'Enfant, about the federal City in that degree of subordination which was lawful and proper he has been notified that his services are at an end. * * * Ellicott is to go on and finish laying off the plan on the ground and surveying and plotting the district."

In harmony with the above action the next letter is written by Mr. Jefferson and bears date Philadelphia Nov. 21, 1791—Dear Sir;—It is excessively desirable that an extensive sale of lots in Washington should take place as soon as possible, it has been recommended to the Commissioners to have all the squares adjacent to the Avenue, from the President's house to the Capitol on both sides, and from thence to the River through the whole breadth of the ground between Rock Creek, and the Eastern Branch, first laid off. The object of the present is to ask your private opinion of the earliest time at which this portion of the work can be completed? which I will beg the favor of you to communicate to me by letter. In order that the sale may not be delayed by the engravers it is hoped that by communicating what is executed from time to time, the engraver can nearly keep pace with you. I am with great esteem Dear Sir,

Your most devoted serv't,

TH. JEFFERSON.

Major Andrew Ellicott.

History having failed to give Major Ellicott the honor due him for the share which is clearly proven by official documents he had in preparing the accepted and engraved plan by which this City was laid out—and under which the sales were made—It affords me pleasure just here to quote some of these proofs.

7th. CONGRESS—1ST. SESSION.

Communicated to the House of Representatives April 8th, 1802.

Mr. Dennis, from the Committee to whom was referred on the 5th. of February last, a motion in the form of two resolutions of the House, respecting the adjustment of the existing disputes between the Commissioners of the City of Washington and other persons who may conceive themselves injured by the several alterations made in plan of said City, &c. That many disputes have arisen between the Commissioners and proprietors of City property, in consequence of the alterations which from time to time have taken place in the plan of the city of Washington. Your Committee find that the plan of the City was originally designed by Mr. L'Enfant, but that it was in many respects rejected by the President of the United States, and a plan drawn up by Mr. Ellicott purporting to have been made from actual survey, which recognized the alterations made therein, and which was engraved and published by the order of General Washington in the year 1792. This plan was circulated by the Government through the United States, and sent to our public agents in Europe, by authority of the Government, as the plan of the City and is the only one which has ever been engraved and published; this is generally

known by the appellation of the engraved plan. From this plan later deviations were made and incorporated in a map which received the endorsement of Mr. Adams, but this plan has never been engraved and published. In continuance of the report is given a statement of a number of citizens in the form of a letter to Mr. Adams Nov. 10th, 1798 * * * Mr. L'Enfant was succeeded by Major Ellicott in the surveying department; the latter was superseded and that department devolved on others, perhaps less qualified. While Mr. Ellicott was surveyor a plan was engraved by the direction of the Commissioners, and a very numerous impression taken therefrom. A number of copies were lodged in the Office of the Secretary of State, others with the Commissioners and many dispersed throughout the United States and Europe for sale and for the information of persons who might incline to become purchasers of the City property. This plan although it differed in many respects from that by which the first sales were made—and which had been laid before Congress, was generally considered as the final plan of the City; and from that period sales have invariably been made in conformity therewith, under the idea that the sanction under which it issued was a sufficient guaranty of its stability. It has already been observed that there were several alterations made in the plan between Mr. L'Enfant's first design, and the publishing of the last engraved plan in Philadelphia, by the Commissioners, and promulgated as the plan of the City." Major Ellicott's map was the engraved plan.

In a letter dated Commissioners Office March 23, 1802, to Hon. John Dennis, Chairman of a Committee of Congress the following occurs. "Major L'Enfant's plan of the City was sent to the House of Representatives on the 13th. of Dec. 1791, by President Washing-

ton for the information of the House and *afterward withdrawn*. Many alterations were made therefrom by Major Ellicott with the approbation of the President and under his authority; all the appropriations except as to the Capitol and President's house were struck out and the plan thus altered sent to the engravers, intending that work and the promulgation thereof to give the final and regulating stamp. These changes from L'Enfant's plan took place in the year 1792, and the published plan appears to have been engraved in October of that year. It has since been pursued in all the operations of the city under the directions of the Commissioners as far as it was practicable—but the city not having been surveyed, and this plan having been partly from L'Enfant's draughts, and partly from materials possessed by Ellicott it was probable it would not correspond with an actual mensuration. In continuance the letter further says "we know but one instance of a complaint of injury arising from a difference between L'Enfant's and the engraved plan; that is the case of Samuel Davidson, he alleges that L'Enfant's plan ought to be considered as the plan of the City, as by it he would be entitled to additional property. His case as stated by himself was transmitted to President Washington, who in a letter to the Commissioners dated Feb. 20, 1797, says:

"That many alterations have been made from L'Enfant's plan by Major Ellicott with the approbation of the Executive is not denied; that some were deemed essential is avowed and had it not been for the materials which he happened to possess, it is probable that no engraving from L'Enfant's draughts ever would have been exhibited to the public, for after the disagreement took place between him and the Commis-

sioners, his obstinacy threw every difficulty in the way of its accomplishment. To this summary may be added that Mr. Davidson is mistaken if he supposes that the transmission of Major L'Enfant's plan of the City to Congress was the completion thereof: so far from it it will appear by the message which accompanied the same that it was given as matter of information only, to show what state the business was in, and the return of it requested. That neither House of Congress passed any act consequent thereupon; that it remained as before, under the control of the Executive, that afterwards several errors were discovered and corrected many alterations made and the appropriations, except as to the Capitol and the President's house, struck out under that authority before it was sent to the engraver intending that work and the promulgation thereof were to give the final and regulating stamp." Upon receipt of this letter from President Washington the Commissioners rejected the application. General Washington in replying to a complaint from William Thornton in a letter dated Federal City June 1st., 1799, writes:—"I have never had but one opinion on this subject, and that is that nothing ought to justify a departure from the engraved plan, but the probability of some great public benefit, or unavoidable necessity." From the foregoing it will readily be seen that a gross injustice has been done Major Elliott, in withholding his name in connection with the engraved and adopted plan by which our Capital City was laid out; that portion of L'Enfant's draughts were used—in constructing the whole is not questioned, but the final map was one submitted by Elliott and engraved and put into use by order of President Washington.

A long period now intervenes of which I have no

account—and the next letter bears date of Georgetown 1st. September 1792, and is as follows,—Major Ellicott is requested to prepare several squares near the President's House, the Capitol, the Commissioners' house, the Judiciary, the Markets on the Canal, on the Mall, on the Eastern Branch where it can be done on the different proprietors' lands near each place. The division of the squares where their size will permit to be laid off in the same manner as those last October and that he report by the 5th. October in what other part of the City squares may be laid off. By order of the Commissioners.

JAMES M. GARRETT.

The next letter is of date,—January 1st. 1793. Second Survey.—I Andrew Ellicott do hereby certify that being appointed to this service by Thomas Johnson, David Stuart, and Daniel Carroll, Commissioners in virtue and for the execution of Act of Congress for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States have agreeably to the Direction of the President's two several proclamations carefully surveyed the following District of Territory ten miles square, to wit:—Beginning at a stone fixed on Jones point being the upper cape of Hunting Creek in the Commonwealth of Virginia and at an angle in the outset of forty-five degrees west of the mouth and running in a direct line ten miles for the first line; then beginning again at the said stone on Jones Point, and running another direct line at a right angle with the first across the Potomac ten miles for the second line; then from the terminations of the said first and second lines, running two other direct lines of ten miles each the one crossing the Eastern Branch and the other the Potomac and meeting each other in a point. These lines are opened and cleared

forty feet wide that is twenty feet on each side of the lines limiting the Territory, and in order to perpetuate the work I have set up square mile stones marked progressively with the number of miles from the beginning on Jones' Point to the West corner thence from the West corner to the north corner to the east corner and from thence to the place of beginning on Jones' point; except in a few cases where the miles terminated on declivities or in waters; the stones are then placed on the first firm ground, and their true distances in miles and poles marked on them. On the sides of the stones facing the Territory is inscribed, "Jurisdiction of the United States." On the opposite sides of those placed in the commonwealth of Virginia is inscribed "Virginia." And on those in the State of Maryland, "Maryland." On the third and fourth sides, or faces, is inscribed the year in which the stone was set up, and the conditions of the Magnetic Needle at that place.—In addition to the foregoing work I have completed a map of the four lines with an half mile each side, including the said District, or territory, with a survey of the different waters.

Witness my hand this first day of January 1793.

ANDREW ELLICOTT.

The following letter next in date which I can command is addressed to Mr. Jefferson, City of Washington January 12th., 1793.—Sir:—From a conversation which I had with you some time ago I remember you was desirous of discovering the Indian name of the Eastern Branch of the Potomack. By some old surveys it appears to be "Anna Kastia." The reasons of my disagreement with the Commissioners and ultimate determination to quit the business of the City of Washington on the first day of May next shall be pub-

lished immediately after that date and I have no doubt but that from a clear investigation of facts my conduct and exertions will be approved of by the candid and deserving.

I am Sir with esteem your real friend,

ANDREW ELLICOTT.

To

Thos. Jefferson, Esq.

The disagreement between Major Ellicott and the Commissioners seems now to have culminated; but not to have continued long. The, appears to have anticipated his resignation which according to his letter he had determined to present, by as he writes dismissing him from the service. They were not unanimously supported in this act as appears from the following letter.—City of Washington, January 12th. 1793. Were all, who may directly or indirectly hear of the disagreement between Major Andrew Ellicott and the Commissioners personally acquainted with that gentleman, or spectators of his conduct I would be silent on the occasion, but as circumstances may be partially related, and misapprehended it becomes expedient to bring forward facts authenticated by free full and unbiased testimony I am therefore happy in having it in my power to certify and declare in the most solemn manner: that ever since I have been employed with Major Ellicott in the City of Washington on the Boundary lines of the Territory of Columbia or in the surveyor's office, Georgetown, I have observed him uniformly attentive to the business of his department from the first appearance of light in the morning until his usual bed time (not even Sundays excepted) Nothing while I have been present—but extreme indisposition—and not always even that—has ever appeared to me to divert his attention from his business or to abate

his anxious endeavors to promote the general interest of the city of Washington with the approbation if possible of both Commissioners and proprietors. I shall produce one instance out of many of his extreme attention to his duty. When we were running the boundary lines of the territory of Columbia being obliged to transact (as I have understood) the general business of his office in Georgetown on Saturday evening and Sunday he used actually to arrive at our Camp on the line at no less distance than seven miles from that Town, on Monday morning before it was light enough to see distinctly, without a candle. It was also his usual custom to breakfast by candle light in the morning. The labors of the day commenced before day light and he did not retire from them but with retiring day light, frequently not even for dinner. In short I do not believe it possible for a man aiming solely at the augmentation of his private fortune or the attainments of his reigning wish to be more indefatigable in the pursuit or instant in his exertions than Major Ellicott always appeared to me to be in the faithful execution of the public business committed to his charge. Such conduct in a public servant although the rigid moralist may call it no more than duty is certainly meritorious and demands the esteem and approbation of every unprejudiced mind.

T. BRIGGS.

Tardiness in securing expected results seems to have been the reason for discontent on the part of Commissioners, as Major Ellicott preferred accuracy to expedition.

At the time of writing this letter Major Ellicott was yet pursuing the work entrusted to him as a letter from Mr. Jefferson will show.

The following letter is without date, but from the tenor thereof I believe it should properly be inserted here. It is to the Commissioners from Major Ellicott. —Gentlemen, your precipitate departure after receiving mine of the 8th. prevented my replying the next morning particularly to yours of same date for want of copies of my letters of the 4th and 5th. From information which I have received since your adjournment it appears that you have affected not to understand that part of my letter of the 4th (2) 2 with regard to not being able to give satisfaction in the execution of the business in which I have been engaged in the City of Washington. The idea which I intended to convey was that as my exertions in executing the plan did not meet your approbation (and likewise from the discontent which Mr Dumot frequently informed me he discovered among the Proprietors) it would be agreeable to me to withdraw from the business. That you have given me every reason to believe you were discontented with my proceedings I think you will not pretend to deny. Your blaming me to the President, to Mr. Walker and others with respect to the work being delayed on the Eastern Branch and other places are sufficient evidences that I have not been actuated by suspicion respecting your own sentiments. As the delay on the Eastern Branch appears to have been more particularly attended to than at any other place, I feel myself interested in accounting for it both to the public and proprietors. I hope that I am now understood but must at the same time declare that it will be difficult to convince me that my letter of the 4th. required a comment to enable you to understand it, whatever it might for others. In replying to yours of the 8th I shall begin with your general censure conveyed in the

words, "without pretending to a Scientific acquaintance with your professional art we cannot sacrifice so much of our sincerity as to say otherwise than that our expectations have been much disappointed as to the time the surveying has been on hand and have often mentioned to you, our wish of strengthening you with every assistance in our power to expedite it." This paragraph was evidently intended to shelter yourselves under your not "pretending to a scientific acquaintance with my professional art." If this was not your intention, you could have conveyed your meaning more pointedly in fewer words with equal elegance though "sacrifice" and "sincerity" had been omitted. As an evidence that no delay has been occasioned for want of exertions I must refer you to the adjoining testimony of those acquainted with me both in the office and field; but in a number of instances the work has been impeded by attempting to comply with your "particular requests." The "wish", which you say you manifested to me of increasing my strength could not possibly have been extended with advantage to the work beyond a mere wish, for had more assistants been taken into pay, they must have been idle for want of the necessary instruments. This would have been strange economy. In the last paragraph of yours of the 8th. you say "you must have often observed our difficulties and chagrin at being obliged to act in the existing state of the work" I confess that I have often observed your ill humor with respect to the progress of the business under my direction which is one of the causes of my dissatisfaction because I am certain that on a fair investigation you will not find even the shadow of a phantom for a foundation to rest your complaints upon. If your "expectations have been much disappointed" owing to a want of a "scientific

acquaintance with my professional art" and a knowledge of the system on which the plan of the city depends and which must be pursued upon principles as fixed as the SUN if executed in the least time and best manner possible. I can see no reason for your ill humor or "chagrin" I "cannot make such a sacrifice" of my "sincerity" as to say that I comprehend the meaning of these words, "being obliged to act in the existing" state of the work. Because first I cannot conceive how you would act in the non-existing state of it. Secondly, no difficulty could occur to any person of modest capacity in acting upon the work already executed, and thirdly if you mean that my bringing *forward a plan of the City* without which that part of the business in which I have been engaged must have been delayed another season had rendered it necessary however disagreeable for you to act at all it might have been much better and more clearly expressed. I shall close this after making a few observations relative to the discontent of the Proprietors which Doctor Stuart informed Mr. Marstella was the principal cause of our disagreement. On receiving this information I called upon the proprietors generally, and found the report as far as It respected the surveying department, wholly without foundation, but candour obliges me to confess that I found instances of dissatisfaction arising from a very different cause namely,—an apprehension that I had been concerned in the dismissal of Major L'Enfant and defended your measures which they supposed must ultimately injure the great work in which you are engaged, and in which they are so deeply interested. As confidence is frequently the parent of success and the want of it the cause of misfortune, and as this want of confidence in those concerned in conducting the affairs of the City, appears to be too general I

shall just take the liberty of proposing a hint which may safely be improved by you to advantage (that is) suppose we should all withdraw from business as Sancho did from the weight of his government, and be succeeded by others whose minds embraced the magnitude of the object and enjoyed the confidence of those interested in its prosperity, is there not every reason to suppose that it would be attended with the most desirable consequences. As your office is an office of record, I request that this with the adjoining testimonies may be entered on your journal as a reply to the censure contained in yours of the 8th.

From Mr. Jefferson,

Philadelphia Jan. 15th, 1794.

Dear Sir;—

I have duly received your favor of the 9th., the President thinking it would be better that the outlines at least of the City and perhaps of Georgetown, should be laid down in the plot of the Territory, I have sent it back to the Commissioners from whom it came that you may do this. Supposing you were to consult them on the propriety of adding to the Eastern Branch the words Annakastia this would probably revive the ancient Indian name instead of the modern one. I am extremely sorry to learn that there has arisen any dissatisfaction between the Commissioners and yourself. I am sure it is without fault on either side, such is my confidence in both parties. The work you are employed in must be slow from its nature and it is not wonderful if the Commissioners should think it too much so however I hope you will change your mind about bringing it before the public. This cannot be done without injuring the expectations built on the City nor can it be necessary in a case unknown beyond

the Circle of Georgetown within that Circle verbal explanation will certainly answer equally well as a justification to you indeed I hope nothing will take place to render your future services there unobtainable with the Commissioners, and that you will suspend any resolution you may have taken on this subject. I thank you for your almanac, but why have you adopted the name of *Georgium sidus*, which no nation but the English took up, while justice and all the nations gave it that of *Herschel*? I have often wished we could have published in America an Almanac, which without going beyond the purchase of the people in general, might answer some of the purposes of those a little above them in information. The declination and right ascension of the Sun, the equation of time, places of those of the remarkable stars which are above our horizon in the night, and some other little matter might be substituted in place of the weather and other useless articles, without increasing the bulk or price of the almanac. I know no body but yourself from whom we could hope such a thing. What say you to it.

I am with great esteem Dear Sir,

Your very humble serv't.

TH. JEFFERSON.

The disagreement had now come to open rupture as seen by the following:—

Georgetown, March 16th. 1793.

Sir:—The Commissioners of the public buildings have at length dismissed me from the business in which I have been engaged in the City of Washington without giving me an opportunity though demanded of verbally explaining what from misrepresentation and the want of knowledge of the plan they supposed to be

unpardonable inaccuracies. I do assert, and posterity will bear me witness to its truth, that there is not a work of that nature or magnitude in the Universe executed with equal accuracy and I do require an examination into the general execution of the plan by men of known professional abilities in that way otherwise I shall consider myself a sacrifice at the shrine of ignorance. I am sir with esteem and gratitude

your o'b'd't serv't,

ANDREW ELLICOTT.

President U. S.

Mr. Jefferson replied to this letter for the President as follows:—

Philadelphia, March 22, 1793.

Sir:—Your letter of the 16th to the President has been duly received wherein you require an examination into the execution of the general plan of the city by men of known professional abilities, if this be addressed to the President under an expectation that he should order such an examination, I have to observe to you that it would be out of the line of his interference to originate orders relative to those employed under the Commissioners, their plans come to him for approbation or disapprobation, but everything concerning the execution is left to themselves; and particularly the President declines all interference with those employed by them, or under them. The President is sincerely concerned at the difference which has taken place, but does not suppose it to be a case for any interposition on his part. To these expressions of his sentiments on the subject of your letter I have only to add those of regard and esteem from Sir

Your most obed't humble serv't,

TH. JEFFERSON.

Mr. Andrew Ellicott.

The next in sequence is a joyful letter from Major Ellicott to his wife which is in strong contrast with the one the doughty Quaker addressed to the President.

Georgetown, April 10th, 1793.

My Dear Sally;—

I have just taken a few minutes to acquaint you that I am in good health * * * The singular situation into which I was thrown immediately on my arrival at this place and the doubtful issue prevented my writing until a final determination which was had yesterday. My victory was complete; and all my men reinstated in the City, after a suspension of one month. As my reputation depended on the determination, I neglected nothing in my power to defeat the Commissioners, but had to contend very unequally, owing to all my papers being siezed by their order the day after I returned from Philadelphia. And this day they were all restored to me again. This victory has cost me at least £75. The defeat of the Commissioners has given great pleasure to the inhabitants of this place, and when I went into the City yesterday after the determination, the joy of every person concerned in the business was evident, and it was with difficulty that they were prevented from huzzaing. Briggs behaved like a true friend, and a man of sense and prudence, he has lost by it about half as much as I have. I shall write to you again on Tuesday next, and inclose a sum of money. Brother Benjamin is in good health, and this day begins work in the City. I am my dearest Sally,

Your affectionate husband,

ANDREW ELLICOTT.

Mrs. Sarah Ellicott.

Yours by the President came to hand, I think my victory in some measure owing to him.

A. E.

The Commissioners wrote to Maj. Ellicott.—

Georgetown, April 9th, 1793

SIR:—We approve of Mr. Briggs, Mr. George Fenwick and Mr. Benjamin Ellicott as your assistants on the Terms mentioned in your letter. Their compensation is understood by us to be same as formerly allowed them. We shall be glad to have a little conversation with you, before we separate, which we hope will be soon. And are Sir, Your humble servants,

TH. JOHNSON,

DR. STUART,

Com'rs

On April 15th, 1793, Gov. Mifflin commissioned William Irvine, Endrew Ellicott and John Wilkins, Jr., to view and lay out a Road from Reading to Presque Isle. He probably left the work in Washington in charge of his subordinates for on May 22, 1793, he began his journey to Pittsburg and reached that place on the 30th. This mark of appreciation must have been to him a most agreeable expression of confidence. (Subsequently March 1st, 1794, with Messrs. Irvine and Galatin, he was again appointed by Gov. Mifflin to lay out town of Presque Isle.)

Surveyor's Office,

Washington July 29, 1793.

(Copy).

GENTLEMEN:—When Major Ellicott was about to depart from this city, he gave us written instructions to

conduct the surveying department in his absence, on the same general system lately pursued; and in no case deviate from it, unless in obedience to an express order from you in writing. We were also, at the same time, instructed to report to you at your meetings the state of the work, with such other information as might appear to merit your consideration; and to sign the returns designating the squares, and deliver them to your clerk.

In pursuance, thereof, of those instructions we report: that we have completed a survey of that part of the City, comprehended in sheet No. 9, bounded on the north by B street north; on the South by L street south; on the East by 2nd street east; and on the West by $4\frac{1}{2}$ street West; and delivered to your clerk the returns designating each square it contains. Some squares on South-Capitol, included in this sheet were during the hurry of the sale, in October last estimated from the best data that could then be collected; and were we believe, partly divided with Mr. Daniel Carroll of Duddington; the survey of these Squares is now completed, and an accurate and final division may be made. As that small part of South Carolina Avenue West of South Capitol appears to answer no other purpose than materially to injure three or four otherwise handsome squares, we have not extended it further westward than the public appropriation about the intersection of 1st. street east and Virginia Avenue; this, we hope will meet your approbation. The survey of that part of the city east from 2nd. street east and south of C street north is in great forwardness and we hope, if we are fortunate enough to escape sickness to be able to make very satisfactory returns between this time and the ensuing sale. In consequence of a close attentions to the checks furnished by the con-

struction of the plan, we have discovered several sources of error in the work of last summer, of such a nature as for a long time to elude detection. It appears that two principal points of intersection had been moved from their intended position, between the time of first fixing them, and extending the Avenues and streets passing through them. Yet this mischief might have been easily discovered and prevented had not the streets, from which checks would have arisen been removed in regular proportion. This removal of points being found so uncommonly systematic, affords such an obvious proof of deliberate, nefarious design in the author that we cannot possibly ascribe it to accident. It has been a source of shameful delay in the business; of enormous unnecessary expense to the public; and of much additional difficulty, labor, and anxiety to us; we shall, therefore in future be very careful not to suffer any person, whose character does not appear fair, to be in any manner connected with us in the surveying department. This information will account for such differences as you may observe between the dimensions of squares, East of the Capitol, as formerly returned, and now returned by us.

You will observe in the plan a small canal or inlet from the Eastern Branch extending northward along Fifth street East; this is high ground; we would therefore submit the idea of placing this inlet in Sixth street, where the tide already flows almost the whole distance intended. We have at the request of Mr. Hoban, accurately marked the line of the streets, for regulating the front of the Union Public Hotel. If such precision is strictly attended to from the beginning, in all front buildings, it will be the only means of preserving the beauty of the plan and of correcting such little irregularities as are unavoidable in placing

stones, intended to limit the streets and squares. We also beg leave to suggest for your consideration the idea of placing in the wall of each corner front building a handsome piece of free stone or white marble, with the name of each street or avenue sculptured on it; This we conceive would be far preferable in point of beauty and even economy, to the pieces of painted board usual in other cities. If Mr. George Fenwick makes the same progress he has hitherto done in bounding, with stones, the squares and areas, he will, in two or three weeks completely overtake the surveying, and his employment will be by no means sufficient to fill up his time.

We are Gentlemen,

Your most obedient & very humble serv'ts

JOS. ELLICOTT.

BENJAMIN ELLICOTT.

J. BRIGGS.

} [Both brothers of Andrew Ellicott. Joseph laid out the City of Buffalo. Benjamin was later in life member of Congress.]

The Commissioners of the Public Buildings &c.

I have no data at hand from which to state how long Major Ellicott was absent. We learn by the last letter he had left specific instructions as to how the work should be conducted. The following letter bears the date of month, but not of year.—so I must insert it in this place as it may be the proper one for it, but of this I cannot be positive.

Log-hall October 4th., Morning.

Mr. Briggs presents his most respectful compliments to Major Ellicott. I have caused Mr. Marstella and Mr. Fenwick each to make a list of all the measurements in his possession which lists you will find inclosed. You will observe a difference of almost 12 feet between Mr. Fenwick's measurement of the square

from 9th. to 10th sts East and that which is set down on the plan. I shall cause this square to be remeasured on N. C. and send you the result. I shall also take 18 inches from 2nd st. East, and add it to the square between 2nd. and 3rd. sts. I informed Mr. Dermott repeatedly that he might make this alteration in the list of measurements Mr. Fenwick gave him on Sunday last for I should make it on the ground. Mr. Marstella has no measurements of the oblique sides of the irregular figures made by the avenues of Massachusetts and N. Carolina westward of their intersection; he informs me that he imagines Mr. Curtis must have them. I wish to be informed how wide you would have the street made which passes east and west through the intersection of Georgia, and 8th streets, and the size of the streets and squares to southward of it.

This street is marked M on the plan we have, Mr. Curtis told me it was K on the large plan.

I am with esteem and respect,

Your friend,

T. BRIGGS.

The following letter concludes the series I have

Georgetown 17th December 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—Major Ellicott's return was unexpected, the arrangement was satisfactory to us, we do not incline to alter it in the beginning of Winter, it is a delicate circumstance with you and we wish to know whether we may depend on your services—Be pleased to form your resolutions jointly or severally as you may judge proper and inform us of the result if equally

agreeable to you it will be more so to us to see you to-morrow or next day.

We are gentlemen,

Your most humble serv'ts,

THOMAS JOHNSON,

DR. STUART,

DAN'L CARROLL,

Commiss'rs

Messrs Benjamin

&

Joseph Ellicott.

There is every evidence that President Washington continued to entertain feelings of respect and friendship for Major Ellicott, and when his labors in the District of Columbia were concluded the President presented Major Ellicott with a pair of gold lined goblets as a mark of his esteem.—One of which the writer has the honor and happiness to possess.

In March 1794, Gov. Mifflin again appointed Messrs Irvine, Ellicott, and Gallatin Commissioners to lay out the town of Presque Isle and ordered that adequate arrangement be made at Le Boeuf to give protection from hostile Indians &c., to survey and open two roads one from Reading the other from French Creek to Presque Isle and avoid giving offence to peaceable Indians and the British garrison in that quarter. A most interesting correspondence ensues. The President fears disturbance if Presque Isle is established,—Gov. Mifflin defends the action of Pennsylvania. Letters follow from Major Ellicott to Sec'y Dallas; from Sec'y Knox to Gov. Mifflin; Sec'y Dallas to Mr. Irvine and Major Ellicott. Sec'y Dallas closes his letter to Sec'y Knox expressing hope for a change in the Executive's opinion requesting him not to abandon the undertaking.

In July Sec'y Knox writes that Mr. Ellicott who has been employed by Pennsylvania thinks all differences may be accommodated by treaty. There was evidently a difference of opinion between the President and some of his Cabinet also Gov. Mifflin as to the wisest course to pursue.

In 1795 Major Ellicott with Mr. Wm. Irvine was appointed to lay out lots at Presque Isle, and make other surveys.

In 1796 he was appointed Commissioner on behalf of the United States to determine the Boundary between the U. S. and the possessions of his Catholic Majesty in America. Upon this work he was engaged during a part of the year 1796, the year 1797, 1798, 1799 and part of 1800. Major Ellicott though numberless opportunities must have arisen to enable him to do so, never accumulated wealth. From Philadelphia September 17th, 1800 he writes:—"I am writing an *Astronomical Journal*," and intimates that it is in the hope he will repair the losses sustained by his appointments which had been serious to him. "This is the very first time I have been under the necessity of selling part of my books to procure bread." Speaking of apparatus he says, "Great part of it—was my own private property and it will be seen that no individual before at his own expense ever furnished a Nation with such a number of valuable instruments." December 18th. Mr. Jefferson enquires of Major Ellicott where he had proposed to establish an accurate Meridian at Washington. He replies "The Capitol in the City of Washington stands on the intersection of the Meridian and prime vertical the centre of the North and South Avenue may therefore be taken as the true Meridian." The positions of all leading Avenues were determined by celestial observations and will be found in 4th. Vol. of the

Transactions of our Philosophical Society. Feb. 5th. 1801, he writes his anxiety regarding the burning of the Treasury Department lest maps and charts of Southern Boundaries might have been destroyed. Under date of March 30th. 1801, the office of Surveyor in the N. W. Territories was offered him. June, 1801, he writes to President Jefferson on the importance of observatories yet unknown in America. Oct. 10, 1801, has just accepted the charge of Pennsylvania Land Office. Feb. 7th, 1802, Major Ellicott replies to President Jefferson who has offered him the Surveyor Generalship of the United States—"Dear Sir;—Your favor of the 29th. ultimo has been received and the proposition which it contains I consider as one of the most honorable and flattering incidents of my life and were my own feelings and inclinations alone concerned I should not hesitate one moment in accepting the place you offer; but as there are some other considerations to be brought into view and duly weighed before I can give a definite answer I wish the subject to be delayed a few days."

Feb. 14th, 1802, he writes to President Jefferson his own proposed arrangement of executing the office of Surveyor General of the United States, and adds "if they coincide with your ideas upon that subject and come within the meaning of the law I shall have no objections to the appointment." May 10th, 1802, Major Ellicott writes his regrets to the President that his ideas of the duties of the Surveyor General, were not such as were thought consistent with existing laws, and adds "to your inquiry respecting the Almanac I can only answer I have no copy of it. It was the commencement of a work which at that time I expected would have been continued, it produced the thanks of President Washington and there ended." Nov. 2, 1802,

Dr. Rush encourages Major Ellicott to continue his Journal in the following language: "It cannot fail of placing your name with those of Franklin and Rittenhouse in the future history of the Philosophers who have lived in Pennsylvania in the present eventful History of the United States." Dr. Rush further writes of the epidemic character of Yellow fever which Andrew Ellicott strongly maintained: "Don't be afraid of offending our citizens, Europe and posterity will do you justice for the time must come when the belief in the importation of yellow fever will be viewed with the same emotions that we now view the belief of our ancestors in witch-craft and the Divine right of kings."

Ellicott had written President Jefferson of an account he had from France of a shower of stones. I cannot refrain from giving an amusing quotation from a letter from President Jefferson in reply Dec. 1803;—"I find nothing surprising in the raining of stones in France—nor yet had they been Mill stones. There are in France more real Philosophers than in any country on Earth but there are also a greater proportion of pseudo Philosophers there. The reason is that the exhuberant imagination of a French-man gives him a greater facility of writing and runs away with his judgment unless he has a good stock of it. It even creates facts for him which never happened and he tells them with good faith. Count Rumford after discovering that cold is a positive body will doubtless find out that darkness is so too. As many as two or three times during my seven years residence in France new discoveries were made which upset the whole Newtonian Philosophy." He asks if Major Ellicott can recommend proper measures for explorations in the S. W.

In May, 1807, Albert Gallatin writes that "the Presi-

dent of the United States being authorized to have certain surveys done has directed me to apply to you requesting that you would have the goodness to suggest the outlines of such a plan as in your opinion unite correctness with practicability."

Dec. 15th, 1810, a resolution passed the House of Representatives that Government employ Mr. Ellicott to ascertain the 35 degrees of North latitude, State of Georgia. July 28th, 1813, the Secretary of War enquired of Major Ellicott if the appointment of Prof. of Mathematics at West Point would be acceptable. September 2nd, 1813, the appointment was made. In 1817 he proceeded to Montreal by order of Government to make astronomical observations and to carry into effect some of the articles of the Treaty of Ghent. Much of his life while at West Point, was devoted to the study of Astronomy. He died at West Point—Aug. 28, 1820—in the 67th. year of his age. Andrew and Sarah Ellicott had ten children.

In the cemetery at West Point a monument fitly commemorates the life and death of this noble man, whose earlier years were passed in almost unrelenting, arduous and trying work. One can but feel grateful that his later years were passed in comparative ease in the pursuit of his favorite science; surrounded by those to whom he had shown such tender devotion, and with the grandeur of nature on every hand to minister to the love he had so frequently expressed for her. His scientific contributions adorn the publications of the Royal Academy of England, the National Institute of France; the Philadelphia Philosophical Society and the libraries of our country.

The largest work he left to posterity is the journal of Andrew Ellicott compiled during 1796, 1800—for determining the Boundary between the U. S. and the

Possessions of His Catholic Majesty in America, containing occasional remarks on the situation, soil, rivers, natural productions, and diseases of the different countries of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Gulf of Mexico, &c. A second edition was printed in 1803 for Thomas Dobson, Philadelphia. As great a length as this paper has reached—much of extreme interest has been omitted for the facts in the foregoing, I am indebted to work of partial compilation, of the late Rev. Malcolm Douglass, D. D., grandson of Andrew Ellicott, Mr. Charles Evans of Buffalo,—and to my honored father, the late Joseph C. G. Kennedy, LL. D.,—also a grandson of Andrew Ellicott.

The Columbia Historical Society having done me the honor to ask me to prepare a paper upon the Life of Major Andrew Ellicott my great-grandfather, I felt at once though with many misgivings, that a duty had come to me which, difficult as the task would be must be performed—difficult because so unaccustomed to such work—because there were so many sources of information which I could not reach and have the article written within the stipulated month. But I was upheld in my determination by the knowledge that an effort on my part, the best I could make, however feeble, would I hoped place Andrew Ellicott, where he belonged in the History of our beloved City and the country, and that in such effort, I would meet with the approval of my honored father.

Twenty-sixth meeting of the Columbia Historical Society, held in the Lecture Hall, Columbian University, Washington, D. C., June 8th, 1897, at 8 o'clock p. m.

REMINISCENCES OF THE MAYORS OF WASHINGTON.

The Meeting was called to order by the President, Hon. JOHN A. KASSON.

The PRESIDENT: There was a resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Society, after hearing the very valuable paper read to us by Judge Hagner, for the appointment of a committee to memorialize Congress touching the nomenclature of the streets of Washington, and the Chair was directed to appoint that committee. The sub-committee for the selection of the members of that committee have announced the following members of the committee for the purpose named:

Messrs. M. I. Weller, Alexander B. Hagner, Marcus Baker, Lewis J. Davis, M. F. Morris, J. Ormond Wilson, to which committee they have added the President of this Society. The committee accordingly is appointed as named.

I have further to say to the Society that in making efforts to get some trace of a likeness of the well known Major L'Enfant, who was the surveyor and engineer laying out the city, and of whom we have had some very valuable papers presented, I wrote to Philadelphia to perhaps the oldest among the known citizens

of that city, Mr. Frederick Fraley, a very venerable man, who was a child at the time the Capitol was changed from Philadelphia, the seat of government, to Washington, hoping that he might have some memory of L'Enfant, and possibly might know where a portrait of him might be found. He responded in a very kindly and intelligent manner, in his old age, that he never did see Major L'Enfant, and knew no way by which his likeness could be obtained.

In further prosecuting the inquiry, I had heard of the Saint Minim collection of portraits, the property of the Corcoran Art Gallery, and it was thought by one of the Trustees, that a portrait of him would be found there in that very valuable collection, which is very large. Mr. Frederick McGuire, one of the trustees, writes that he cannot find the portrait in the St. Minim collection of L'Enfant, "but I do find one that may interest you. It is of Dr. William Thornton, whom Washington appointed Commissioner for laying out the Federal city. He made the design for the Capitol, and received a premium for the same".

So that, not finding what we want, we find the existence of another very valuable and historical portrait, connected with the history of this city. I thought it would interest the society to know that fact.

One other communication. You will remember your disappointment on the evening of Decoration Day on finding the Hall closed. The very worthy and distinguished President of the University has seen fit to write me a letter in which he requested me to make known to the audience his profound regret at the mistake of one of the subordinates in charge of the halls, and his forgetfulness in respect to the opening and lighting of the hall at the close of that holiday. Deeming it a holiday, he had entirely forgotten this special

appointment, and the building was closed. Dr. Whitman, of course, is without fault, and I thank him for the interest he has shown, and, at his request, announce his regrets and apology to the meeting.

This evening we have one of the most interesting topics connected with the history of Washington, and without any preliminary further than to say that one of the most eminent and distinguished of citizens of Washington, and one of its mayors, has consented to address you this evening, together with two or three papers which will be presented on that subject of great interest, I think, to the audience. I have the pleasure now of introducing our worthy and distinguished fellow citizen, Ex-Mayor James G. Berret, who will speak to you of the reminiscences of the Mayoralty.

ADDRESS of Ex-Mayor JAMES G. BERRET.

Mr. President, I thank you very much for your agreeable and pleasant introduction, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, for your generous greeting, I tender the homage of a grateful heart.

I shall preface the few remarks that I propose to make on this occasion, by reminding you—this is historical evidence, and of course perfectly reliable—that:

“The District of Columbia was named in honor of Christopher Columbus, and also with reference to the poetical use of the term ‘Columbia,’ a designation of the United States. It formerly constituted the County of Washington, this term, however, being popularly confined to the portion outside of Washington and Georgetown, comprising the much larger portion of the District.

After the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, by the United States, the question of fixing the seat of government occasioned much sectional rivalry. During the period between the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the present Constitution, Congress met at Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton and New York. After the adoption of the Constitution, March 4, 1789, warm discussions took place in Congress in regard to the location of the capital. On June 28, 1790, an Act was passed containing the following:

‘That a district of territory, on the river Potomac, at some place between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and the Connocheague, be, and the same is hereby accepted as, the seat of government of the United States.’

The same Act also provided that Congress should meet at Philadelphia until the first Monday in Novem-

ber, 1800, when the government should remove to the district selected on the Potomac.

The area fixed upon was 10 miles square, or 100 square miles. This embraced 64 miles of Maryland soil, constituting the County of Washington, which was ceded by that state to the United States in 1788, and 36 square miles of Virginia soil, constituting the County of Alexandria, ceded in 1789. The portion on the Virginia side of the Potomac was retroceded to that state in 1846.

Mr. President, my acquaintance with Washington began fifty-eight years ago Friday next. Upon reaching the capital I found it what might be termed a straggling village. There was but one public mode of transportation north of the Potomac, leading into Washington. That was the Washington Branch of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

I remember well the impression that it made upon me. The train of cars consisted of one passenger car, a portion of which was devoted to the storage of baggage, and the engine. We approached the depot, which was formed of a dwelling house which had been utilized for that purpose by removing the interior up to the second story. The engine brought us within a short distance of this old house, and we were pushed in by the engine switching down and driving it at the other end. This depot was located on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue, about 150 feet from what was then called the Tiber. It will be remembered, and I have no doubt you will be told to-night by several gentlemen who are to address you, that the condition of Washington, as compared with what we now realize, was something marvelous. There was not a paved street in the city. The sidewalks were very imperfect. The crossings from one side of the street to the other were formed

by flagstones of about a foot in dimension, so that the citizens desiring to pass from one side of the street to the other had to find the corner of the street before they had reached this passage-way. There was no gas-light and no water except what was taken from the pumps and they were distributed all over the city with reference to the accommodation of the population. It frequently happened that a pump would get out of order and that always created trouble in the neighborhood, not only with the families, but with the servants, who had to travel off a square or two to find a pump and get water for culinary purposes and other domestic wants.

I recollect that upon the arrival of President Harrison here after his election in 1840, a very large crowd was attracted to this depot—large for Washington in that day, some prompted by a desire to pay their respects to the incoming President, and others undoubtedly attracted by curiosity. It was an extremely inclement day; so much so that it would be difficult to imagine that people could be attracted from their homes for any such reason, without facilities such as we have now for passing from one portion of the city to the other. There were no carriages nor omnibuses nor conveyances of any sort; so that whoever went to see the President-elect, traveled on foot, with the use of an umbrella, and a great number of them cotton umbrellas at that.

The President himself, an old soldier, declined the conveyance from the depot to the point at which he was to hold a reception, but insisted upon walking; and the people present held their umbrellas in such a manner that they would afford competent protection, at least from above, on his transit from the depot to the city Hall, where he went arm-in-arm with Gen. Seaton, who subsequently became Mayor.

It will be borne in mind that the revenues of Washington at that day were very limited. The making of improvements such as were rendered necessary for the comfort and convenience of the people was a thing utterly out of the question; so that the most that could be done was to provide a passage-way, if I may so use the term. The streets were all mud; the gutters were formed of cobble-stones rendered necessary to carry off the drainage, which at that time was entirely upon the surface. The lighting, of course, was with oil lamps, sparsely distributed, and on dark nights the population had to grope their way about the town as best they could. This state of things continued up to the advent of Mr. Seaton, as Mayor, in 1840; but still he was without means, with all the liberality that characterized his generous nature, to do anything that would advance and produce a greater amount of comfort than the people then enjoyed.

But with all these difficulties, Washington possessed many advantages for the social enjoyment and comfort of her population. Congress met at the usual period and came here to stay. The members located themselves for the Session. They identified themselves with the people of the city, and exchanged a generous hospitality; so that from a social point of view, certainly, that period marked an agreeable era in the history of Washington life.

Advancing along a little further, we find the city somewhat disturbed by a disorderly element, introduced from a neighboring city. I come now to the year 1856. I omit the period between 1840 and 1856, for the reason that there are gentlemen here to night who will speak of those periods more intelligently and more knowingly than it is in my power to do.

The election of Dr. Magruder took place in 1856. He

was a man of considerable learning and of high personal character. Indeed, I might say, in common parlance, that he was a very able man. He stood very high in his profession—pre-eminently so; but as a financier, I am sure he never claimed to be anything more than a tyro. His administration was characterized by one very striking event, which never had taken place before at the Capital of the Nation. A disorderly band of what might be called the very worst class of ruffians presented themselves here in the broad light of day and undertook to possess themselves of the town. They marched fearlessly through the streets. They knew what they were going to do, and intimidated both men and women. Dr. Magruder, exercising the authority devolved upon him, and the duty which he felt imposed upon him, called upon the executive for assistance in suppressing these riotous intruders. It will be remembered that at that time there was no organized police force in the city, so that the Mayor was powerless to suppress this organization, and it became necessary to call for aid, which was promptly rendered to him by an order from the President upon the officer in command of the Marine corps, and a company was placed at the disposal of the Mayor for the maintenance of the public peace. Fortunately that command devolved upon a very discreet and able officer who, without any great sacrifice, succeeded in suppressing this mob, and they were driven from the city; but it left behind very many disagreeable feelings amongst several classes of the people, who sympathized with or against the conduct of these people.

There were two organizations here of volunteer firemen. They were politically hostile to each other, and upon many an occasion, whenever the opportunity afforded, and they came together by a false alarm of

fire or otherwise, disorder generally obtained; but with a very small guard, what was called the auxiliary guard, organized by authority of congress, these small difficulties were easily taken care of.

I now reach a period in Washington's history in which it devolved upon me to take part in the conduct of our municipal affairs. At the election which was to take place on the 1st Monday of June, 1858, there was very great excitement, caused by the candidacy which preceded the election. The two parties were arrayed against each other with all the zeal and energy and enterprise which might be expected from parties ambitious for success. It was generally supposed and apprehended by many that the election would be attended with some disagreeable conduct on the part of these people, who were likely to appear again in Washington and interfere with the peaceful and orderly election, but in order to avoid such an occurrence Col. William Selden, then United States Marshal for the District of Columbia, thought it necessary for the preservation of the government property and the maintenance of the public peace, to exercise his authority, and he did so by the organization of a mounted guard of deputy United States marshals. They were stationed at the City Hall and at stated hours of the day, by his order, I think, they would canvass the city mounted. It was a wise precaution as the result proved. The election passed off very quietly, and he who now addresses you had the honor of being elected over his very popular opponent, Mr. Richard Wallack. (Applause.) I must be frank to say that I never entered upon a duty before or since feeling more the great responsibility that devolved upon me. I knew the elements that prevailed at that time in the city thoroughly. I had familiarized myself with them be-

fore, and during the canvass which resulted in that election; so that on the day of my installation, and within an hour thereafter, I invited a meeting of the Councils to assemble the following Monday. They did so, and I communicated a message to them, recommending the immediate organization of a police force of one hundred men, in order that I might have, without calling upon the military authorities, power necessary to maintain the peace and order of the City. If there are any gentlemen present here to-night familiar with those days, they cannot fail to know the serious apprehension that was felt by all persons who undertook to traverse the City, outside of the main thoroughfares, at late hours of the night. The Councils promptly responded to that recommendation. I appointed one hundred policemen, and selected as their commander, an able and discreet man who, I think, possessed higher qualities for that kind of service than any man I ever have known or seen before or since, Captain John H. Goddard, with two lieutenants, equally reliable, but of course not so efficient. It was a very few days before it became apparent that the peace and order of the City had been thoroughly established, which I attribute to the efficiency and zeal of Captain Goddard, to whom all honor and praise should be given.

The disturbing element at that time was assisted, as I have before stated, by these two engine companies. I found, upon examination of the authority given to the mayor over the volunteer companies, that I had power to disband a fire company. I promptly exercised that power. I disbanded both of them. Of course they resisted and talked against it, and thought it was very harsh treatment and all that sort of thing; but still, I thought it was to their interest as well as

to the interest of the community, that they should be put out of harm's way. The Northern Liberty Company occupied a house which was used regularly for that purpose, nearly where the old Northern Liberty Market stood. Immediately upon their disbandment, I had the building turned over to the Trustees of the Public Schools, and it was made into a public school building. It is now used on an enlarged scale, and is known as the Abbot School. I think that movement, although I say it myself, had a salutary influence in bringing about the condition of things which followed.

During my term of four years,—I was subsequently re-elected—the revenues of the City were very small. They never reached, I think \$300,000, and we had a debt of about \$2,000,000 or more, upon which the interest had to be paid; so that you can readily perceive that there was but little margin for the development of a great city, formed upon the plan of Washington. But still, we did the best we could; and it is due to Congress to say that when they found this measure we had adopted of organizing a police force was an efficient one, they promptly consented to the payment of one-half of the expenses consequent upon the organization.

With less than \$300,000 revenue, of course nothing could be done of very much account. We managed to keep out of debt. We managed to sustain the public schools which at that time afforded a limited education to some five thousand children, but not of a very high standard. The teachers were all highly reputable people, and consequently became prominent as educators in the public schools.

Congress was very little disposed, as everybody in Washington knows, to do anything looking to any great development of Washington City; and that feeling arose

simply from the fact that there was no permanency attached to the Capital in its then location. The exciting questions growing out of the agitation of slavery at every presidential election threatened some disaster to Washington, and affected very seriously the values of real estate property in the town. That continued until 1850, when, through the patriotic efforts of such men as Webster and Clay and Crittendon and Hunter and Mason and William H. Seward, and a host of other prominent men, measuring up to the standard of those whom I have mentioned, there was passed what was called the Compromise Bill of 1850. That seemed to bring repose to the country; so that in the presidential election of 1852, the excitement which had occurred in the previous ones had entirely subsided, and the election of General Pierce, over his distinguished competitor, General Scott, by a vote which wiped out every idea of sectional feeling, seemed to give courage to the people of Washington that their future would be assured.

Well, we all know how long that lasted. During the administration of the successor of General Pierce, Mr. Buchanan, of course this question arose again in another form. The same embittered feeling which had existed prior to that time, again sprung up all over the land, and finally, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, it culminated in what we know and have realized to be one of the most heart-rending disasters that ever had befallen a great people, taught to believe that this Nation, having the proud boast of being a government resting directly upon the will of the people, would never be drawn into a contest such as existed in this country from 1861 to 1865.

But I pass that over. After these troubles had subsided, Washington was still in the same condition

which existed when President Lincoln took possession of his office. He was undoubtedly very friendly to Washington, and very ambitious that something should be done to advance its interests, and would very gladly have done so, but for the more engrossing subjects which necessarily occupied his attention, during the continuance of the War of the Rebellion.

But Washington still had a future; and when the Congress of the United States changed the local form of government by the appointment of a Governor and the election of a Delegate to Congress, the appointment of a Legislative Council, the election of the House of Delegates and the appointment of the Board of Public Works, the people seemed to take courage. At the head of the Board of Public Works was Governor Shepherd, a man of great energy, liberal views and full of enterprise. He formulated a plan of improvement upon a scale so large as to startle the whole community. A great many of us thought that we were to be sold out, to use a cant phrase of that day—taxed out of the last foot of ground that we owned. He continued in the office of Vice-President of the Board of Public Works until the resignation of Governor Cook, when he became Governor, and in that capacity served for one year, prosecuting with greater vigor his plan of improvements; but such was the hostility aroused against him, that Congress, without consulting the people of the town, repealed the law under which he held his office and provided for the appointment of a Board of Commissioners composed of gentlemen who had no local interest in the City of Washington. General Grant, however, felt that under the authority of the law, he had a right to appoint Shepherd on that Board. He accordingly sent his name to the Senate, but notwithstanding the prestige of

Grant's great name and high office, the Senate rejected Shepherd by three votes.

Shepherd remained here several years, seeking, I suppose, to recover his lost fortunes, and finally resolved on self-exile in a neighboring Republic. Prior to his departure, in 1879 I think it was—I am not certain as to dates, for I am relying entirely upon my memory now for what I give you as facts—a public dinner was given by many of the prominent and unofficial men in Washington, at which Chief Justice Miller presided; and in the course of his remarks he expressed the greatest sympathy for Shepherd, and the belief that the time would come when his treatment would be atoned for by the very people who condemned him.

Well, sure enough, Shepherd went to Mexico to develop an abandoned mine, and applied the great energies of his character to the work, under new auspices, new machinery, and all the appliances which had been discovered up to that time. He returned here after five or six years, and, be it said to the honor of the people who condemned him, and many who did not approve of his conduct in the lavish expenditure of the public money, on his return he received an ovation, such as I do not believe has ever been extended to any public man in or out of office within my knowledge. He was tendered, for the first time, by the authorities of the City, the freedom of the City, under the broad seal of the City. It was a proud day for him, undoubtedly, and was creditable to those who believed that through his efforts, in a large degree we are now enjoying the advantages of one of the most beautiful cities upon the face of the earth, furnishing all the luxuries, and a generous system of embellishment and decoration—a fine system of sewerage, abundant supply of

water, beautiful paved streets, admirable side-walks, and a vast amount of parking, all of which is enjoyed by those who own property, without the payment of taxes.

But it seems to me, for reasons which must be obvious to everyone within the sound of my voice, that although the future of Washington is unquestionably assured by reason of the generous and patriotic spirit which pervades the land in favor of its development and beautification, we have not yet reached the point where further and needful improvements are unnecessary.

It has occurred to me, and I will make bold to state it, that, in the first place, we should get rid of a festering sore, which is a constant menace to the health of the entire city. I mean the eastern branch flats. I think further that all the bridges contemplated to bring Maryland more closely to Washington over the Eastern Branch should be speedily constructed. And that our National Park, for which Nature has done so much, should be at once put in a condition for the use of the people not only of this City but those who visit Washington. Also the Riverside Park, just brought into existence by the same process which I hope in the near future will be utilized in the Eastern Branch, to produce what may then be called the Eastern Branch Park.

Another needed improvement in Washington is a building adequate for all municipal purposes, and for the business of this District. Public buildings of every kind might at once be put under way. The Long Bridge, which is certainly not an attractive object to the eye, or creditable to the architecture of the present age, ought to be reconstructed upon the plan recommended by General Jackson, when President of the United States.

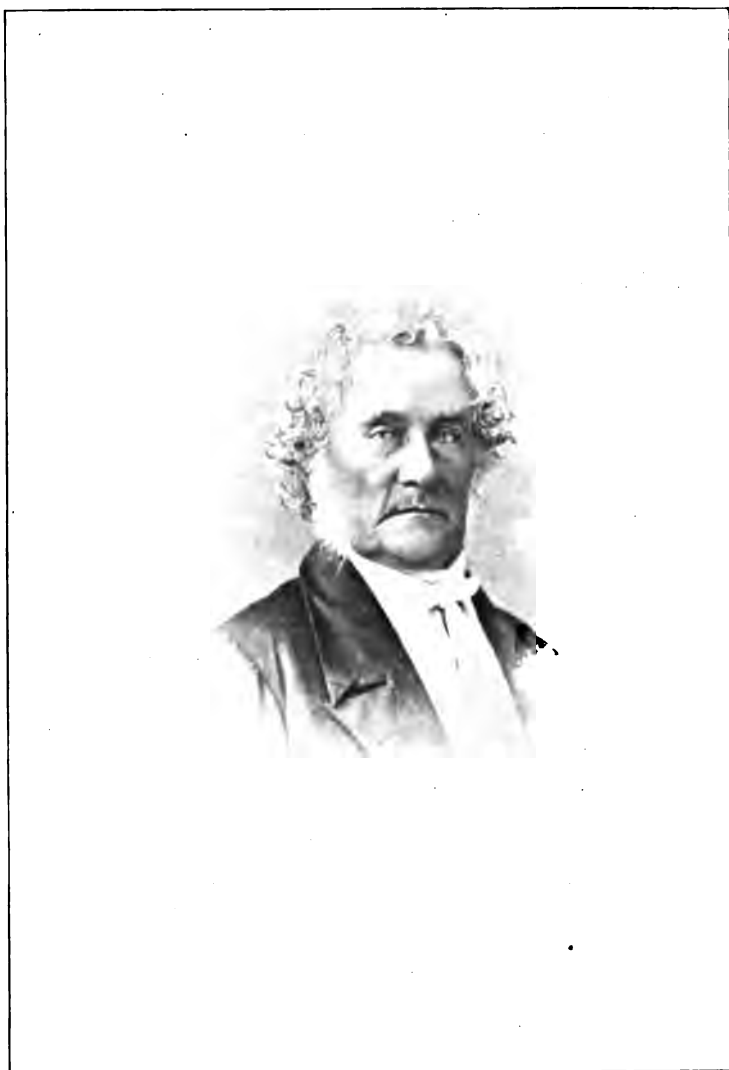
And last, though not least, I would like to live to see the contemplated memorial bridge to connect Washington with Arlington.

I think with these improvements, and many others that might be named, Washington would rise to the dignity of a capital worthy of a great Nation of free-men, whose institutions are worthy of such a capital, and who are entitled to it as a better means of illustrating the genius of a free government resting upon the will of the people.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for your attention.

The PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, we have had great pleasure in listening to one of the only two surviving ex-mayors of Washington. We have the pleasure also of having present with us the other surviving ex-mayor of Washington, Matthew G. Emery, whom I know it will give you great pleasure to see, although he persists he is not to be heard to-night. I wish he were to be heard.

The next in the order of business for the evening is an address on Peter Force, one of the Mayors of Washington, and his life-long service, I may say, to the country, which will be given to you by our eminent fellow citizens, Mr. A. R. Spofford, the United States Librarian.



From photograph by Alexander Gardner about 1860.

PETER FORCE.

BORN 1790, NOVEMBER 26—DIED 1868, JANUARY 23.

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THE LIFE AND LABORS OF PETER FORCE, MAYOR OF WASHINGTON.

BY

AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD

“The world knows nothing of its greatest men,” sang the poet of Philip Van Artevelde, sixty years ago; and in these days of cheap reputations we may truthfully re-echo the sentiment. The life of such a man as Peter Force, who died in Washington at the ripe old age of seventy-seven years, was worth more to American letters and to human history than that of almost any forty of the generals and other notables, whose names are blazoned on the scroll of fame. Yet he was suffered to pass away with a brief “obituary notice” in the corners of the newspapers, while the names of ignorant and presumptuous nobodies, whom some accident had elevated into notoriety, filled the public eye. But notoriety is not true fame, and the appeal continually lies from the days to the years, and from the years to the centuries; and in the high court of the centuries, where all the errors of the courts below are reversed, the cause of those “uncredited heroes” and unobtrusive workers, like Peter Force, who raise no ripple on the sea of current history, will be adjudged, and they will be elevated to a place in the temple of fame as lofty and illustrious as the fruits of their unpretending labors, enjoyed and used by mankind at large, can justly entitle them to.

Peter Force lived for more than half a century in Washington, having removed here in 1815 from New

York. He found Washington a straggling village of wood, and left it a stately city of brick and marble. He filled various public and responsible positions in municipal affairs and national associations. He was, during nine years of his busy life, editor and proprietor of a daily journal, which enjoyed the confidence of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams; but it is not as mayor of Washington, nor as editor of a political paper, that he will best be remembered. His characteristic merit, which differences him from the Ritchies, the Duff Greens, and the F. P. Blairs, who also bore an active part in political journalism at the National Capital, is that he was more than a journalist—he was a historian.

Born near Passaic Falls, N. J., on November 26, 1790, his father, William Force, being one of the veterans of the Revolutionary War, Peter Force was by lineage, as well as by native tastes and talents, a worthy exponent of that branch of American history to which he dedicated so many years. Removed to New York in early boyhood, he became a journeyman in the printing office of William A. Davis, and made such progress in the art that at sixteen he was intrusted with the direction of the office. When the war of 1812 with Great Britain came, he served with honor in the army as sergeant and lieutenant. In 1815, his employer having secured a contract for the printing of Congress, removed to Washington, and Peter Force, at twenty-five years of age, became also a resident and a printer in this city. Here he soon became known as an active and public-spirited citizen, whose judgment and sagacity made an impress upon all who were brought into contact with him. In the seventh year of his residence he was elected to the city council, then to the board of aldermen, being chosen president by both

bodies, and in 1836 he was elected mayor of Washington, and served by re-election four years—until 1840. Besides thus filling with signal ability and dignity the highest civil offices in the gift of his fellow-citizens, he was also honored with the highest military office, having been made successively captain, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and major-general in the militia of the District of Columbia. He was also for some years president of the National Institute for the promotion of science.

But the great distinctive service rendered by Peter Force to his countrymen was far above the province of the highest official station or military rank. Very early in life he evinced a zealous interest in historical investigations, and four years after coming to Washington he originated and published an annual devoted to recording the facts of history, with statistical and official information of a varied character. This "National Calendar and Annals of the United States," as he called it, antedated by ten years the publication of the old American Almanac, and was continuously published here from 1820 to 1836, except the years 1825, 1826, and 1827, when none were printed. In 1823 Force established a semi-weekly newspaper, the *National Journal*, which became a daily in 1824, and was continued until 1831. This journal was independent in politics, with moderate and conservative views upon public questions, and it drew to its columns some noted contributors, among them John Quincy Adams.

The high-minded conduct of this paper in doing justice to the opponents of the administration once led to a committee of the ruling party (which it then supported) waiting upon Colonel Force and asking him to permit them to edit or revise the political columns

with a view to more thorough partisan effect. They little knew the independent character of the man with whom they had to deal. Colonel Force drew himself up to his full height (he was six feet tall) and with that dignity of bearing which sat so naturally upon him, with his clear gray eyes fixed upon his visitors, he said: "I did not suppose that any gentleman would make such a proposition to me."

Among Mr. Force's publications of greatest value to the students of history were the series, in four octavo volumes, of Force's "Historical Tracts." These were reprints of the rarest early pamphlets concerning America, long out of print, and some of which he could not procure or else could not afford to own, but borrowed them from libraries for the purpose of reproducing them. "Whenever," said he, "I found a little more money in my purse than I absolutely needed, I printed a volume of Tracts." Many of the *rarissimi* of early American history or exploration owe to Peter Force their sole chance of preservation.

The series of American Archives, the great monumental work of his life, was published at intervals from 1837 to 1853. It embraces the period of history from 1774 to December, 1776, in nine stately folio volumes, printed in double column and most thoroughly indexed. These archives constitute a thesaurus of original information about the two most momentous years of the Revolutionary struggle, and especially concerning the Declaration of Independence, of inestimable value. To this work, the bold conception of his own mind, to contain nothing less than the original fountains of American history, reproduced in systematic chronological order, he dedicated his long and useful life. For it he assembled, with keen, discriminating judgment and unwearied toil, that great col-

lection of historical material which now forms an invaluable part of the Congressional Library.

Nor was the literary and historical zeal of the subject of our sketch by any means confined to the early history of America. He dignified and adorned his profession of printer, as did Benjamin Franklin before him, by original authorship in many fields. He was profoundly interested in the annals of the art of printing and the controversies over its true inventor. He gathered by assiduous search a small library of *incunabula*, or books printed in the infancy of the art, representing every year from 1467 (his earliest black-letter imprint) up to 1500 and later. He studied the subject of Arctic explorations, collecting all books published in that field, and himself writing upon it. He was the first to discover and publish in the columns of the *National Intelligencer* the true history of the Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence" of May, 1775, proving by contemporaneous newspapers he had acquired that the true resolutions were of date May 31, and that the so-called declaration of May 20, was spurious.

MR FORCE AS A COLLECTOR OF BOOKS

No man living can fully tell the story of that devoted, patient, assiduous life-labor spent in one fixed spot, surrounded by the continually growing accessions of books, pamphlets, periodicals, manuscripts, maps, and engravings which contributed to throw light upon some period of his vast inquiry. To say that his library alone filled seven commodious rooms to overflowing; that it embraced besides the largest

assemblage of books ever then accumulated by a private citizen in this country, thirty thousand pamphlets and eight hundred volumes of newspapers; that it was rich in Revolutionary autographs, maps, portraits, and engravings, and that it embraced between forty and fifty thousand titles—all this is to convey but a mechanical idea of the life-long and unintermitted labor which Mr. Force expended upon his favorite subject. He began to collect American books long before the birth of the extensive and mostly undiscerning mania of book-collecting which has of late years become the rage, and he continued the unceasing pursuit until the very week before he was laid in his coffin. He carried off prizes at auctions which no competitor had the knowledge or the nerve to dispute with him. He ransacked the book-shops of the United States from Boston to Charleston for rare volumes.

He had agents to pick up "unconsidered trifles" out of the garrets of New England housewives, and he read eagerly all the multifarious catalogues which swarmed in upon him of books on sale in London and on the continent. On one occasion he was a bidder against the United States for a large and valuable library of bound pamphlets, the property of an early collector, which were brought to the hammer in Philadelphia. The Library of Congress had sent on a bid (a limited one) for the coveted volumes; but Mr. Force's order (intrusted to his agent attending the sale) was peremptory and unlimited, "Buy me those pamphlets in an unbroken lot." They were bought. He knew well enough how to make a bargain, and his purchases were often made at prices which would now seem fabulously cheap; yet he never boggled at a high price when once he was satisfied that he had an opportunity to procure a rare or unique volume, which might never

again be offered to competition. Thus, he used to tell how he had once tried to buy two thin foolscap volumes containing Major General Greene's original manuscript letters and dispatches during the Southern Revolutionary campaign of 1781-'82. The price demanded was two hundred dollars. Mr Force offered one hundred and fifty dollars, which was refused. He then offered fifty dollars for the privilege of taking a copy. This was also declined. Seeing that he could not otherwise possess himself of them, he wisely paid the two hundred dollars, and marched off with the precious volumes under his arm.

Out of his multitude of pamphlets he had many which could not have cost him sixpence each, but there were others for which he had readily paid from two to twenty dollars apiece, rather than go without them. He carried off from an antiquarian bookseller in Boston the only file of Boston Revolutionary newspapers which had been offered for sale in a quarter of a century, and when good-naturedly reproached by some Yankee visitors for thus stripping New England, he conclusively replied: "Why didn't you buy them yourselves, then?" To the last he was untiring in his efforts to secure complete and unbroken files of all the Washington newspapers. These were carefully laid in piles day by day, after such perusal as he chose to give them, and the mass of journals thus accumulated for thirty years or upward filled the large basement of his house nearly full. His file of the printed "Army orders" issued by the War Department was a miracle of completeness, and it was secured only by the same untiring vigilance which he applied to all matters connected with the increase of his library. With the weight of seventy-five winters on his shoulders, he would drag himself up to the War Department regu-

larly to claim from some officer who knew him and his passion the current additions to the printed series of Army orders promulgated in all branches of the service during the civil war. He thus secured for his private collection, now become the historic heirloom of the American people, articles which librarians and other functionaries, trusting to official channels of communication alone, seek in vain to secure.

But Mr. Force was no mere collector of books. He was a man who knew how to use them. Every volume which he added to his richly laden shelves was added with a purpose. Every pamphlet, hand-bill, or newspaper was hailed as it contributed to throw some light upon the history or politics of the past or to illustrate some character in the long picture-gallery of departed American worthies. The greater portion of the volumes in his library, especially the Revolutionary newspapers and pamphlets, were filled with marks and memoranda indicating his careful study and repeated examination. References to other and collateral authorities, notes showing where further information had been published or was to be found, references to catalogues of early printed works, where any volumes of ancient typography had been described—all these and similar elucidations were scattered through the well-thumbed and dusty volumes.

It was not alone with reference to Revolutionary history that Mr Force's zeal as a historical student was enlisted. He had a passion for the art of printing—his own early chosen profession—and had collected a larger library of books printed in the infancy of the art than any public library in the United States could then boast of.

He became widely known as a collector, and books, pamphlets, and periodicals, with frequent offers of

manuscripts, came pouring in upon him. He culled from all what he wanted, and by the steady accretion of years the long, rambling mansion on the corner of Tenth and D streets became filled to overflowing with this great library of facts and documents. There dwelt the sage among his books from an early hour in the morning until late at night.

THE HISTORICAL STUDENT AT HIS WORK.

Let us endeavor to picture our departed friend, who lived to be the worthy mentor of more than a generation of historical students. As a printer he was devoted to his art, and many volumes or pamphlets remain to us bearing the imprint of Peter Force, or of Davis & Force, the former his accomplished partner in the noble art preservative of all other arts. After he ceased to print, and grew to be a devotee to the single aim of historical inquiry, he became more of a recluse than in earlier years. He saw no company save a few chosen friends, and alike to curiosity-hunters and to autograph fiends he turned a justly deaf ear. It was my good fortune in those closing years to see him daily, and in his company to go through all the more precious stores of his vast collection. At eight o'clock each morning I found him always immersed in work, collating or writing amid heaps of historical lore—

Books to the right of him,
Books to the left of him,
Books behind him
Volleyed and tumbled.

No luxurious library appointments, no glazed book-cases of walnut or mahogany, no easy chairs inviting to soft repose or slumber were there; but only plain,

rough pine shelves and pine tables, heaped and piled with books, pamphlets, and journals, which overflowed seven spacious rooms and littered the floors. Among them moved familiarly two or more cats and a favorite old dog, for the lonely scholar was fond of pets, as he always was of children. He had near bits of bread or broken meat or a saucer of milk to feed his favorites in the intervals of his work. Clad in a loose woolen wrapper or dressing-gown, the sage looked up from his books with a placid smile of greeting, for (like that of many men of leonine and somber aspect) his smile was of singular sweetness. As we went through the various treasures of the collection, enabling me to make the needful notes for my report to Congress, he had frequent incidents to tell—how he had picked up many a gem on neglected and dust-laden shelves or from street book-stalls; how he had competed at auction for a coveted volume and borne it away in triumph; how he had by mere accident completed an imperfect copy of Stith's *Virginia* by finding in a heap of printed rubbish a missing signature, and how precious old pamphlets and early newspapers had been fished by him out of chests and barrels in the garrets of Virginia and Maryland. In the rear of his work-room was a little garden (now all built over by the brick edifice erected for the *Washington Post* by Stilson Hutchins) in which he had planted trees, then grown to stately size, interspersed with grass and rose bushes and box and tangled shrubbery. This green retreat or thicket he called his "wilderness," and here he took delight in walking when resting from his sedentary work. His manners were gravely courteous and simple, his conversation deliberate rather than fluent, his tones modulated and low. His talk was often enlivened by an undercurrent of genial humor.

Without egotism or pretension, he was ever ready to impart to inquirers from his full stores of wisdom and experience, while cherishing a wholesome horror of pretenders and of bores. So hospitable was his intellectual attitude that what a simple Scottish swain said of Sir Walter Scott might well be applied to him: "He always talks to me as if I was equal to him—and to think *that* of a mon that has such an awful knowledge o' history!"

In his physical aspect Peter Force was a man of marked and impressive personality. Of stalwart build, his massive head covered to the last with a profusion of curling hair, his erect bearing, keen vision, and dignity of port impressed the most casual beholder. Once seen, he was not one to be forgotten, for the personal impress was that of a man cast in a heroic mould. Addicted to study as he was and living a singularly laborious life, he yet took active exercise in long walks, and his familiar aspect and courteous recognition was an every-day benison in Washington streets, for he had the respect of all men. His domestic life was singularly fortunate. He brought up and educated a family of seven well-gifted children, some of whom inherited the paternal zeal for historical investigation and produced writings of recognized value.

PLAN OF THE AMERICAN ARCHIVES.

The one great object which overshadowed all other objects with Mr Force was to amass the materials out of which a complete documentary history of the United States could be compiled. His labors as a historiographer are known to comparatively few, since

the great bulk and cost of the published volumes of his "American Archives" confine them chiefly to the large libraries of the country; but by all students of our Revolutionary history and all writers upon it, especially, his work is estimated at its true value. The plan of it comprised, in the language of its prospectus, "a collection of authentic records, State papers, debates, and letters, and other notices of public affairs, the whole forming a documentary history of the origin and progress of the North American colonies, of the causes and accomplishment of the American Revolution, and of the Constitution and Government of the United States to the final ratification thereof."

His contract with the Department of State (executed in pursuance of an act of Congress) was to embrace about twenty folio volumes. He entered into the work with such zeal that the fourth series, in six volumes, was completed and published in the seven years from 1837 to 1844. Three more volumes, forming the commencement of the fifth series, and bringing the history down to the close of 1776, were also printed, when Secretary Marcy arbitrarily stopped the work by withholding his approval of the contents of the volumes submitted to him for the continuation. This was about the year 1853, and this sudden and unlooked-for interruption of his cherished plan and demolition of the fair and perfect historical edifice which was to be his life-long labor and his monument of fame was a blow from which he never fully recovered. It was not alone that he had entered upon a scale of expenditure for materials commensurate with the projected extent of the work; that he had procured at great cost thousands of pages of manuscript, copied from the original archives of the various colonies and the State Department; that he had amassed an enormous library of

books and newspapers which filled his whole house and encroached so heavily upon his means that he was driven to mortgage his property to meet his bills; but it was the rude interruption of a great national work by those incompetent to judge of its true merits; it was the petty and vexatious and unjust rescinding by an officer of the Government of a contract to which he had reason to believe that the faith of the Government was pledged. Mr Force was already over sixty years of age when this event happened. He never renewed his labor upon the archives; the unpublished masses of manuscript remained in the very spot where his work upon them had been broken off, and he could never allude to the subject without some pardonable bitterness of feeling. Friends urged him to appeal to Congress; to try to prevail with new Secretaries of State to renew the work; to sue for damages; to petition for relief. Not one of these things would he do. He had a sensitive pride of character, joined to a true stoic loftiness of mind. An ordinary man would have besieged Congress with his claims and enlisted all his friends in clamorous efforts for some reparation. Not so Peter Force; he could suffer, but he could not beg. There was an assurance of dignity in his very look, which repelled all idea that he would ever be engaged in a scramble for filthy lucre, however unjustly it might be denied him. He never approached a member of Congress upon the subject nor asked a favor where he might have justly claimed a right. He bore his heavy burdens manfully, cheered by no hope of recompense, struggling with debt, but still enduring, still laboring day by day amidst his books, and hospitably receiving and answering all persons who called for information and historical aid. For this unrecompensed service, which became a constantly increasing tax upon

his time he got only thanks. He never made any overtures to sell his library to the Government, nor did he, until two or three years before his decease, entertain any idea of parting with it in his lifetime.

Many proposals had been made to him to buy his collection, either as a whole or by portions, and tempting offers of money had been steadily refused. Finally in 1866, the matter was taken up in earnest by the Librarian of Congress, who shared in the strongest manner the conviction of those who knew its value, that it would be a national misfortune and disgrace if this great historical library should go the way of all other libraries and be hopelessly dispersed; and Mr Force consented to part with the entire collection for the price that had been put upon it by parties who sought to buy it for New York, namely, \$100,000. The press of the country warmly seconded the effort, and the appropriation went through Congress without a word of objection in either House—a rare example of wise and liberal legislation effected on its own merits, without a dollar being expended by anybody or a particle of “lobby” influence in any direction in its favor.

The transfer of the library to the Capitol took place in the spring of 1867. It was watched with careful interest by its venerable owner, who was left to his desolated shelves, and would often lament that he never felt at home without his old and cherished companions around him. He was given free access to the Library of Congress, and invited to take a desk there and continue his studies, but though he often came to the Library, he could not bring himself to sit down and work there. He greatly enjoyed the visits of his children to Washington, and would always insist on walking with them to the Capitol, where he several times ascended the dome—two hundred and eighty feet—with all the ardor of a youth.

His life seemed good for eighty or ninety years until within three months before his death, when his digestive powers began to fail him. He soon reached the point where he could no longer take solid food, from which his strength failed slowly and steadily, and he grew more and more emaciated, though free from pain, until the 23d of January, 1868, when his spirit passed quietly away.

His remains were borne to the grave in the beautiful Rock Creek Cemetery by Richard Wallach, mayor of Washington; George W. Riggs, Thomas Blagden, Dr John B. Blake, Prof. Joseph Henry, Dr William Gunton, J. Carroll Brent, and James C. McGuire—all now departed from the world.

On his grave his children erected a marble monument, on which is carved above the name of Force, as a beautiful and appropriate device, a shelf of books bearing nine volumes, inscribed "American Archives," with a civic crown of laurel.

But his library and his unfinished historical archives are his fitting monument, and these will preserve his name to the future ages of the great Republic as a pure and unselfish patriot and sage, who knew how to labor and to wait.

The PRESIDENT: I am very glad to be informed that before the next paper is read on the First Mayor of the City, ex-Mayor Emery has so far reconsidered his declination, as to express his willingness to say a word.

Mr. EMERY: Mr. President, I wish to say a word in justice to myself. Until I came on to the stage, I was not aware that I was announced to address the meet-

ing to-night. Something over two weeks ago I received a note from the Secretary of the Association, telling me that I would be expected to address the meeting which was to have occurred last week. I replied by saying that I should be absent from the City, and could not possibly comply with the request; I was not aware until yesterday that the meeting was not held last week. I supposed it was. Seeing my name in the list of those announced to speak, I felt I ought to say something, in justice to myself. As I say, I will make no attempt to address the Association. I have not prepared myself at all, and for that reason I do not think I ought to attempt it. I simply felt that I ought to say this much to the Association.

I will say this, however. I came to the City the same year my friend here did, in 1839. I have lived here since that time. My knowledge of the City of Washington is perhaps not equal to that of my friend, but I have a pretty good knowledge of Washington and its affairs, and if I had had time to prepare an address suitable to the occasion, it would have given me great pleasure to have rehearsed some of the incidents that have transpired in my career here. I have taken an active part in the politics of the City, in my early life. I was elected to the Board of Aldermen the first time in 1854, and since that time, as long as we had Mayors, I took an active part in the City politics, and consequently have a pretty good knowledge of what was going on. I am not prepared to rehearse those things to-night, but I will merely state that it would have given me great pleasure, had I been prepared, to address you on this occasion.

The PRESIDENT: We are very much obliged to ex-mayor Emery for the pledge he has now made to prepare a paper for us at one of our meetings next winter.

I now have the pleasure of introducing to you Dr. J. D. Morgan, who will speak briefly of the First Mayor of the City, Mr. Robert Brent.

Dr. MORGAN: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I might state, in preface of my remarks, that through the courtesy of Mrs. Goodfellow, I am permitted to exhibit the portrait of Robert Brent, the first Mayor of Washington, painted from life, and I believe painted by Rembrandt Peale, the great Anglo-American portrait painter of that time. I will pass around the photograph taken from this portrait.

**ROBERT BRENT,
FIRST MAYOR OF WASHINGTON CITY.**

By

James Dudley Morgan, M. D.

Read before the Society June 8th, 1897.

Robert Brent, where born; ancestors; relationship.

Robert Brent, the first Mayor of Washington City in the District of Columbia, was born 1764, at Woodstock estate, in the town of Acquia (exhibit 1), in Stafford County, Virginia, and was the second son of Robert Brent and Anne Carroll. His mother, Anne, was the daughter of Daniel Carroll, of Montgomery County, Maryland, and sister of Archbishop John Carroll; and after her husband's death in Stafford County, Virginia, in 1780, she removed to the residence of her only daughter, Mrs. George Digges, at Green Hill, Prince George's County, Maryland, where she departed this life, 1804.

George Brent, the great-great-grandfather of Robert Brent, the Mayor, was the first of the Woodstock or Acquia branch of the Brent family, who came to America, and was a man of much influence and ability.

Robert Brent (exhibit 2), the Mayor, and the fifth in the line of descent in America, was married in 1787 to Mary, the eldest daughter of Notley Young, of Prince George's County, one of the original proprietors of Washington. Robert Brent lived for a number of years with his father-in-law at the comfortable and substantial residence known as the Mansion House,

FIGURE 2



ROBERT BRENT,

THE FIRST MAYOR OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington, D. C. 20540

Dear Mr. [redacted]:

Enclosed for you are two copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated and captioned as above. The LHM was prepared by the Department of Defense (DOD) and is being furnished to you for your information and guidance.

The LHM is being furnished to you for your information and guidance. It contains information regarding the Department of Defense's (DOD) policy on the use of force in the event of a nuclear attack on the United States. The LHM is being furnished to you for your information and guidance.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

Enclosure

EXHIBIT 2



ROBERT BRENT,

**THE FIRST MAYOR "OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA."**



EXHIBIT 3



JUDGE BENJAMIN YOUNG AND WIFE.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

EXHIBIT 3



NOTLEY YOUNG AND WIFE.

which was located on G street between 9th and 10th streets, S. W. Mr. Young had the greatest admiration for his son-in-law and felt for him the attachment of a father for a favorite son. Robert Brent had two children: Eleanor (who married Hon. Joseph Pearson of North Carolina), and Robert Young Brent (who married first in 1812 Harriet, the daughter of Garrett Cottinger of Philadelphia, and in 1814, Eliza, the daughter of Jno. Carere of Baltimore. Robert Brent continued to live at the Mansion House until after his wife's death and that of his father-in-law, who made him one of his executors.

His father-in-law, Notley Young. Major L'Enfant a visitor. The Mansion House. Quarries at Acquia.

Before the assumption by Congress of the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia comprehending the family seat of Mr. Notley Young (exhibit 3), Mr. Brent was extensively employed in various trusts both public and private, for the states and individuals. Major L'Enfant was among one of the many who often sought the hospitality of the Mansion House, and there many pros and cons (exhibit 4) were indulged in as to the proper way to lay out the city. The quarries at Acquia, in which Robert Brent was interested, led to much acrimonious discussion. Under date 29 February, 1792, Notley Young writes "that on the day they began to pull down Mr. Carroll's house, Major L'Enfant dined with me. Mrs. Young hearing that Major L'Enfant was going to Virginia requested him to take a letter for her as far as Acquia," the home of the Brents.

About this time there arose some misunderstanding between Messrs. Gibson and Brent, the lessors of the

quarries at Acquia, and Major L'Enfant, concerning the prices to be paid for the lease of the quarries, whether £1500 or £1800, and both Daniel and Robert Brent (exhibits 5) defended their uncle George Brent, one of the lessors, from imputations of exorbitant charges for the use of the quarries. Daniel Brent, under date of February 3rd, 1792, writing his brother, Robert Brent, about the charges made concerning the quarries, says, "we must rescue the character of the Brents from an imputation so foul in its nature and so utterly devoid of truth."

These quarries furnished a great amount of stone for the bridges and buildings of Philadelphia. Robert Brent writes from Acquia, November 24, 1791, to his brother Daniel in Philadelphia: "A load of stone would have been sent some time ago to Philadelphia, could a vessel have been got; when one is to be got, it will be shipped." About this same time, February, 1791, Daniel writes to Robert, and it is on a subject with which we are thoroughly familiar and appreciate, "that he would like to get Billy (his brother) a place under the Government, that there were 30 to 40 applicants for every place and all applicants were of the most exemplary character and had the strongest influence."

"Residence for general government." Commissioners for "territory of Columbia." Incorporation of the City of Washington. Appointment of Mayor.

The bill for the location of the general government at a permanent seat was passed and received the President's approval July 16, 1790. The subject first came up in the House of Representatives August 26, 1789, on a motion by Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania, "that a

permanent residence ought to be fixed for the general government." In January, 1791, Washington appointed Thomas Johnson, Daniel Carroll of Maryland and Dr. David Stuart of Virginia as commissioners for the "territory of Columbia." This superintendence of the city continued until May 1802, when the Board of Commissioners was abolished. The Act incorporating "the inhabitants of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia" was passed by Congress and approved the 3rd of May, 1802, by which Act the President appointed the Mayor annually, and the two branches of the council were elected by the people.

Robert Brent was appointed by President Jefferson June 1st, 1802, Mayor of the City of Washington, and was reappointed each year for ten successive terms. He several times accepted the office under protest, and finally declined to serve longer. He served until the second Monday in June, 1812, when by Act of Congress passed May 4, 1812, the duty of electing a Mayor devolved on the city council.

The letter of President Jefferson to Robert Brent tendering him the Mayoralty, and his (Robert Brent's) reply will now be read. Also the original commission of the appointment (Exhibit 6) of Robert Brent, Mayor of the City of Washington.

Washington, June 3, 1802.

Dear Sir:

The Act of Congress incorporating the city of Washington has confided to the President of the U. S. the appointment of the Mayor of the city. As the agency of that officer will be immediately requisite, I am desirous to avail the city of your services in it, if you will permit me to send you the commission. I will ask the favor of an answer to this proposition.

Will you also do me that of dining with me the day after tomorrow (Friday) at half after three? Accept my friendly and respectful salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

To Robert Brent, Esq.

Washington, June 3d, 1802.

Dear Sir:

I have had the honor of receiving your favor of this date, asking my acceptance of the appointment of Mayor under the late Act of Congress for incorporating this city.

Altho I feel great diffidence in the talents I possess for executing that duty, in a manner which may afford general satisfaction, yet feeling it a duty to contribute my feeble aid for the public service, I will venture upon its duties.

I beg you Sir to accept my thanks for the honor, which you are about to confer on me and for the obliging manner in which you have been pleased to communicate it.

I will, with pleasure, accept your polite invitation to dinner on Friday next. With sentiments of much respect and esteem I have the honor to be Sir, Your Obt. Ser.

ROBERT BRENT.

Commission of Appointment as Mayor.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America,

To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting:

Know ye, That reposing special Trust and Confidence in the Integrity, Ability and Diligence of Robert Brent, of the City of Washington, I do in pursuance

Washington, June 27, 1892.

Dear Sir: I am sorry to hear with me the day after tomorrow, I shall be absent after June 27. As you have no doubt as to my intention,

Yours sincerely,

Benjamin Harrison.

Washington, June 31, 1892.

I am sorry to hear of reaching your day of departure, and of the absence of the appointment of you to the Senate and Congress for the present.

I feel a great deal of difficulty in the manner I possess for carrying out my duty, in a manner which may not be generally considered as a duty to a candidate for the public service. I will, however, endeavor to do so.

I have now, Sir, to accept my duties for the honor, which I am now about to confer on me, and for the good of the nation. I have now, Sir, to accept my duties for the honor, which I am now about to confer on me, and for the good of the nation.

I will, with pleasure, accept your invitation to dine on Friday next. With sentiments of much respect and esteem I have the honor to be Sir, Your obedient servant,

Benjamin Harrison.

Commissioner of Appointment as Mayor.

Received of the Commission of Appointment as Mayor, the sum of \$100.00.

To all whom these presents shall come greeting, Know ye, That in pursuance of special Trust and Confidence reposed in me by the City and County of Washington, I do hereby certify

and I have the pleasure of presenting it to you.

Will you also do me the honor of signing with me a copy of the new *Washington and Annapolis* "Avenue of Commerce" and send it to me.

Very truly yours,

Frederick C. Haviland, Jr.

Washington, D. C., June 23, 1891.

Dear Sir:

I have just been honored by receiving your favor of the 17th inst., asking for a copy of the appointment of my name to the late Ave. of Commerce for June 1st, 1891.

And I feel great gladness in the thought passes my excitement that, in a manner which brings a general satisfaction, yet feeling it a duty to continue my noble aid for the public service, I will endeavor to be helpful.

Very truly, I accept my thanks for the honor, which is a great one to confer on me, and I am obliging to meet in why if you have been pleased to confer it.

I will, with pleasure, accept your kind invitation to dinner on Friday next. With sentiments of much respect and esteem I have the honor to be Sir, Very truly, Sir,

Respectfully,

Commissioner of Appointments, Ave. C.

Please send them to the President of the United States or to the Vice President.

To all to whom these presents shall come: Greeting.
Know all men, that in response to the request of the Commission of Appointments, the City and Deliberation of the President of the City of Washington, I do hereby

of the powers vested in me by the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to incorporate the inhabitants of the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia" hereby appoint him the said Robert Brent, Mayor of the said City of Washington, and do authorize him to exercise and fulfil the duties of that office according to law; and to Have and to Hold the same with all the powers, privileges and authorities thereto, of right appertaining unto him the said Robert Brent for the term of one year from the day of the date hereof, unless the President of the United States for the time being should be pleased sooner to revoke and determine this Commission.

In Testimony whereof, I have caused these Letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington the first day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two; and of the Independence of the United States of America the twenty-seventh.

(SEAL)

TH: JEFFERSON.

By the President:

James Madison, Secretary of State.

Letters to Madison and Jefferson.

Robert Brent, as will be seen from the following letters to Secretary Madison, June 7th, 1806, and to President Jefferson, May 31st, 1808, was "anxious for the President to get some other person to execute the duties of the office."

(To Mr. Madison.)

City of Washington, June 7th, 1806.

Dear Sir:

You will excuse me for reminding you that the

Commission of Mayor ceased on the 1st inst., and that it becomes necessary some appointment should be made, as business occurs daily which cannot be done by any other.

I wished the president could have got some other person to execute the duties of this office; but in consequence of your intimation, that it would be more agreeable to him, that I should continue to act, I am ready again to take upon myself the tasks, and will accept the commission accordingly.

With sentiments of esteem and respect I have the honor to be, Dear Sir,

Your Obt. Ser.

ROBERT BRENT.

(To President Jefferson.)

City of Washington, May 31st, 1808.

Dear Sir:

The Commission with which I have been honored, as Mayor of this city expires this day, it will therefore be proper that a new Commission be made out and forwarded as early as possible.

Presuming that the situation of paymaster, to which Genl. Dearborn has intimated you desire to appoint me, will occupy my whole time, it will be proper that some other person should be commissioned as Mayor of this City and I could wish the new Commission may be so made out. If, however, you should not have made up your mind as to a successor—at this moment—when it is essential the office should not be vacant—you may again fill up the Commission to me, with an understanding that on the first of July some other person be selected to fill that office at which time

I shall resign in his favor. I have the honor to be with sincere respect and esteem, Dear Sir,

Your Mo. Obt. Ser.

ROBERT BRENT.

D Sir:

The foregoing is a copy of a letter which I wrote you, and was about delivering it at the post office when you were in Virginia, but which I was prevented from doing by an intimation from Mr. Munroe that you had directed the letters addressed to you to remain at the post office here on and after that day. I have thought it proper imm-ly on your arrival to repeat my desire that some other other person may be selected as Mayor in my place, believing as I do that the situation to which I am about to be called will require all my attention.

With sentiments of much respect

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your Obt. Ser.

ROBERT BRENT.

Washn, Saty. June 11th, 1808.

Offices held by Robert Brent.

Among the many other offices of trust held by him was that of Judge of the Orphan's Court, D. C., Justice of the Peace, member of the School Board and Paymaster General of the Army.

Appointed.

Justice of the Peace of the D. C.

March 16, 1801.

" " " " "

March 14, 1807.

" " " " "

Nov. 18, 1812.

" " " " "

Sept. 1, 1817.

Judge of the Orphan's Court, D. C., April 16, 1806. to Feb. 1814.

Mayor of Washington, June 1, 1802.		
	" "	1803.
	" "	1804.
	" "	1805.
10 terms.	" "	1806.
	" "	1807.
	" "	1808.
	" "	1809.
	" "	1810.
	" "	1811.
		Jefferson.
		Madison.

Paymaster General of the Army July 1, 1808 to Aug. 28, 1819.

Summarized:

J. P.	1801 to 1817 (?)
Mayor,	1802 to 1812
Judge Orphan's Ct.	1806 to 1814.
Pay M. Genl.	1808 to 1819.

He held all four offices from 1808 to 1812, and was also member of the School Board. June 7th, 1815, he was made first president of the Patriotic Bank, which occupied the site of the present Bank of the Republic. In 1814, he, with Walter Smith and Thomas Swann, were appointed Commissioners for the District of Columbia, to receive subscriptions for the capital stock of the National Bank, to provide funds for the war with Great Britain.

Some of the Acts of City Councils under Robert Brent.

The first Act passed by the First and Second Chambers of the City Council of Washington and approved by Mayor Robert Brent, July 20th, 1802, was a device of seal for the City of Washington. That the spirit of unity is inseparably associated with the glory of our Coun-

try is well foreshown in that simple proposition, which was adopted that day by the corporation of the City of Washington: "That the seal of the City of Washington shall be the representation of an edifice supported on fifteen columns, having the word 'Washington' at the top; the words 'City seal,' with the figure '1802' at the bottom and the motto 'Union' beneath the dome."

The City Council was very active in the passage of many ordinances for the public good and beautifying the city. They organized a school board, encouraged the establishment of a university for young men, appointed supervisors of markets, organized a police force, made appropriations for opening and repairing streets; for the repair of pumps and wells; established a fire department and purchased several fire engines and protected the city by the passage of various stringent fire ordinances.

Among some of the very many of the Acts passed and receiving the approval of the Mayor in Robert Brent's time, are the following:

An ordinance approved October 6th, 1802, was the establishment of the Centre Market on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, between Seventh and Ninth streets, west. Section 5 of this Act could not be too rigidly enforced to-day. "That no person shall sell or expose for sale in said market any unsound, blown, or unwholesome meat or articles of provision, under the penalty of five dollars for every offence."

An Act approved Nov. 19th, 1802, "That two hundred dollars be and hereby is appropriated for the purpose of opening, clearing and rendering passable for wagons West Fourteenth, From North F street."

An Act approved January 10, 1803, to provide for the prevention and extinction of fire "That every pro-

prietor of any dwelling house or store-house shall provide as many fire buckets of leather, as there are stories to such house."

Sec. 6 of Act approved January 10, 1803, "That there shall be procured by the Mayor one substantial fire engine to be kept near the Centre Market; and so soon thereafter as may be, two additional fire engines shall be procured to be kept near the east and west markets."

"An Act making appropriations for the repair of pumps and wells."

"An Act that every possessor of a lot whereon there shall during the months of June, July, August and September be an artificial excavation, containing stagnant water more than twenty four hours, shall fill up or drain the same, under a penalty of ten dollars, after notice as aforesaid."

April 20, 1807, the city corporation made regulations regarding the sweeping of chimneys, substantially as follows: The Mayor (Robert Brent) was authorized to make a contract with such person as he might deem a proper one, and to give to him the exclusive right to sweep the chimneys in Washington for a term of not to exceed three years. The chimneys were to be swept once in each three months from the 1st day of April to the 1st day of October, and once in each two months the rest of the year, between five and seven o'clock in the morning, or at such time as the chimney sweep and the householder could agree upon. The chimney sweep was entitled to receive from the person so contracting with him the sum of ten cents for each story of each flue or chimney swept; and if any chimney or flue should take fire from the presence of soot in the chimney within two months from the last sweeping, then the chimney sweep should pay a fine of \$5,

EXHIBIT 8



BRENTWOOD.

1875



1875

EXHIBIT 7



THE "CORNER HOUSE," WHICH ROBERT BRENT (MAYOR) BUILT AND LIVED IN.
THE "HOUSE NEXT TO THE CORNER," HE BUILT FOR HIS SON ROBERT YOUNG BRENT ON HIS MARRIAGE.

1. The first group of people who are likely to be affected by the new law are those who are currently in the process of being deported. This group includes individuals who have been ordered deported but have not yet been removed from the country. They are currently in a state of limbo, waiting for their removal to be finalized. The new law will likely have a significant impact on this group, as it will change the legal status of these individuals and potentially affect their ability to remain in the country.

where \bar{X}_i is the mean of the i th group, \bar{X} is the grand mean, S_i^2 is the variance of the i th group, S^2 is the variance of the total sample, n_i is the number of observations in the i th group, and n is the total number of observations. The F -value is calculated as the ratio of the mean square between groups to the mean square within groups. The F -value is compared to the critical value from the F -distribution table to determine if there is a significant difference between the groups.

[illegible][illegible]

Discussion

1. *Staphylococcus aureus* (100%)

long position. Morgan.

Received for publication April 20, 1967.
 Correspondence: Dr. J. A. Roberts, University of Illinois,
 Champaign, Illinois 61824.

and if any chimney should take fire that had not been swept, then the owner of the house should pay a fine of \$5. As required to do, Mayor Brent gave notice to the citizens that he had made a contract for the sweeping of the chimneys with Job Haight, who would commence June 10, 1807.

Where Robert Brent lived and died.

Robert Brent, the first Mayor of Washington, built, lived and died in the house situated on the southeast corner of 12th and Maryland avenue, South West (exhibit 7). Sir Augustus Foster, who was Secretary at Washington to the British Minister during the years 1804-5 and 6 says "very few private gentlemen have houses in Washington. I only recollect three: Mr. Brent, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Carroll." The adjoining house, Mayor Brent built for his son Robert Young Brent at the time of his marriage. Robert Brent, a short while before his death, Sept. 14, 1819 (see *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 19, 1819) resigned the Paymaster Generalship in the Army. About this time he suffered a stroke of paralysis, and although partially recovering, he never again entered active life, but passed his remaining days in occasional visits to Brentwood (exhibit 8), to superintend the building of a vault, where he is buried.

EXHIBIT I.

(Town of Acquia) Washington, D. C.,
June 1897.

Dear Doctor Morgan:

I visited the old Acquia burying-ground in Stafford Co., Va., about a year ago. It must be very interest-

ing to one, who is tracing up the Brents. I noticed several tombstones bearing that name there; one in particular, as I now recollect it, tracing the pedigree back to England; the name being spelt "Brant."

This burying-ground is now deserted, and almost unknown, being in a dense wood and underbrush, near the once prosperous and now utterly extinct village of Aquia.

With best wishes and regards,

H. P. GERALD.

EXHIBIT 4. A.

(Major L'Enfant at the Mansion House.)

On the day they began to pull down Mr. Carroll's house, Major L'Enfant dined with me. Mrs. Young hearing he was going to Virginia, requested him, to take a letter for her as far as Aquia. He politely promised he would. She then said, she would send it to him in the morning. She wrote to her Sister Brent; and as I was going to George-Town, I took the letter with me. I met Major L'Enfant, and taking the letter out of my pocket, delivered it to him. This letter covered two others, taken out of the Post Office at George Town. The one, as I afterwards found, from a Stone-cutter of New York. The other to Mr. Robert Brent from France. The letter which Major L'Enfant brought up from Virginia, for me, was a blank cover, enclosing a letter to Mrs. Eliza Brent, who was then in Maryland. I believe this letter was directed to the care of Mr. George Greham, who probably, put it under cover, and directed it to me.

I declare, that to the best of my remembrance I never wrote to Mr. George Brent in my life. That I only have wrote one letter to Mr. Robert Brent since the sale of the Lots and that was entirely upon the subject of Pine Logs, enclosing him the Commissioners' Advertisement for contracting for them; and advising him, if he had any thoughts of contracting for them, to lose no time in coming up. I do further declare, that I never knew till after Major L'Enfant had made the contract with Mr. George Brent for the Quarries, what he was empowered to give.

NOTLEY YOUNG.

Mr. Young's narrative
abt. the Letters &c.
inclosed in T. J. 29 feb. 92.

EXHIBIT 4. B.

(Mr. Brent, Mr. Carroll and Major L'Enfant.)

In a Letter I received from him (Daniel Carroll of Duddington) Yesterday, he sent me the Copies I now inclose from Mr. Brent, Major L'Enfant and Mr. Young—waiving the rudeness of Mr. Walker's and Major L'Enfant's Letters, it is apparent that they both hold the Commrs in sovereign Contempt and that the Major would have them act a very subordinate part or not at all—Major L'Enfant in his Conversation with Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Walker in his Letter refers to the filling up of a Hole as if countenanced by the president when the Major must remember very different Things past at the time—

Thomas Jefferson
to

Thomas Johnson,
29 Feby. 1792.

(Danl. Carroll's house.)

In riding over Federal Hill with Major L'Enfant on the day that Mr. Danl. Carroll's house were first began to be pulld down. Seeing a ditch that had been dug & filld up I observed to the Major. You have done work & undone it again, turning round, (for he was before me) he said this ought to have convinced Mr. Carroll of my powers—for the President was on the Spot the day this was done—

This is the substance of a conversation between Major L'Enfant—& your Hble Servt.

IGNAS. FENWICK.

inclosed in T. J. of 29 feb. 92.

EXHIBIT 5. A.

(Quarries at Acquia.)

Memorandum of observations from Mr. George Walker relating to the purchase of Quarries by the Commissioners under an Act for laying out the Federal City from George Brent—

That in a Company in George Town either at the Counting Room of Mr. Davidson or at Mr. Suter's he does not recall which, it was observed by Major L'Enfant or one of the Company, that George Brent was disposed to sell the Quarries for £1500 when Major L'Enfant was in Dumfries—treating with Mr. Gibson, & that upon the Major's return to Acquia upon hinting to Mr. Geo. Brent that he supposed he would be now satisfied with £1500 that he replied his price now was £1800 that he had something in his Pocket which justified his asking it.

January 17th 1792

Mr. Brent's

Memorandum.

EXHIBIT 5. B.

(Quarries at Acquia.)

Feb. 3, 92

Major L'Enfant says he will write to you to-morrow answering the question which is proposed in yr. letter to me—In the mean time I have authority to say his answer will be in the Negative—He opposes to the circulating report of what he said at Mr. Davidson's Compting House, at Suter's or at other places, a direct contradiction; but he will fully explain himself in his letter to you. Convinced tho of its being in language tantamount to what I have stated above, I wish you to make up of this letter (if his shou'd not reach you as soon) to resque the Character of our uncle from an imputation so foul in its own nature, & so utterly devoid of Truth—

DANL. BRENT.

To

Mr. Robt. Brent

copy of an extract

Original, autograph or certified copies of all exhibits are in the possession of James Dudley Morgan.

The PRESIDENT: Mr. Weller has prepared a paper which he will read to you, upon the four mayors who succeeded Mr. Brent, giving a brief outline, and bringing the history that far forward.

FOUR MAYORS OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

By Michael I. Weller.

2nd MAYOR

DANIEL RAPINE. 1812—1813.

Our second Mayor, Daniel Rapine, lived at the Southwest corner of New Jersey Ave., & B, Street, S. E., this being the first house South of the U. S. Capitol. He was a printer by profession being the senior member of the publishing firm of Rapine, Conrad & Co. who kept a book store at the same location. He was elected to the office under the Act of Congress of May 4th. 1812 authorizing the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council to elect the Mayor: and he received an annual salary of \$400. The most notable event occurring during his term of office was the declaration of war against Great Britain which aroused the patriotic ardor of the citizens of Washington as is evidenced by the following Act:--

AN ACT MAKING AN APPROPRIATION IN AID OF THE DEFENCE OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON,

WHEREAS it is the duty of corporate bodies, as well as individuals whenever their Country is attacked, to render not only their personal services but pecuniary supplies in aid of such defence as the General Government may adopt:

AND WHEREAS the adjoining States are now invaded by the forces of the common enemy:

AND WHEREAS it may happen that a similar attack may be intended against this city, in which event it becomes necessary to be prepared for his reception, THEREFORE

Sec. 1. BE it enacted by the board of aldermen and board of common council of the City of Washington, THAT the sum of five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated in aid of such measures as the President may adopt for the defence of this city, which sum shall be expended under the superintendence and direction of John Davidson, Peter Lenox, Elias B. Caldwell and Joseph Cassin, esqs. in conjunction with the Mayor of this City, for the time being in procuring such arms or munitions of war, and the defence of the City, as may seem advisable, and for the expenditure of which they shall render an account to the board of alderman and board of common council.

Sec. 2. AND be it further enacted. THAT the Mayor be, and is hereby authorized to borrow the said sum or sums of any Banks in the District of Columbia, and for the repayment of which, the funds of this Corporation are solemnly pledged.

Approved May 20th, 1813.

Another Act of far reaching consequence and a fitting illustration of the views of that period is the following resolution about schools,

RESOLUTION TO RAISE BY LOTTERY THE SUM OF TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE PURPOSE OF BUILDING TWO PUBLIC SCHOOL HOUSES ON THE LANCASTRIAN SYSTEM.

RESOLVED by the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council of the City of Washington. THAT

it is expedient to raise by lottery, the sum of ten thousand dollars (clear of expenses) for the following object to the accomplishment of which the ordinary funds of the City are inadequate, viz,

For building, establishing and endowing two public schools, on the Lancastrian system (one in the Eastern and one in the Western section of the City) the sum of ten thousand dollars.

RESOLVED. THAT the Mayor be, and he is hereby requested to present the foregoing resolution to the President of the United States, and respectfully solicit his approbation thereto.

Approved November 19th, 1812.

I approve the object as above stated, for which it is proposed to raise, by lottery, the sum of ten thousand dollars by the corporation of the City of Washington.

JAMES MADISON.

November 23rd, 1812.

An interesting law enacted by the Corporation, was:—

AN ACT DIRECTING THE TREASURER TO OPEN SEPERATE ACCOUNTS IN THE BANK OF WASHINGTON.

Sec. 1. BE it enacted by the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council of the City of Washington, THAT the treasurer be, and is hereby directed to open four different accounts in the bank of Washington, to wit, one for the first ward, one for the second ward, one for the third ward and one for the fourth ward, and that the collection of taxes on real and personal property for the different wards in future be, and they are

hereby directed to make their deposits to the credit of the treasurer in the bank of Washington, to be passed to his credit in the account for the ward in which the same shall have been collected.

Sec. 2. AND be it enacted, THAT the treasurer be directed to open a general account in the bank of Washington for the deposit of all monies coming into the treasury not specified in the first section of this Act.

Sec. 3. AND be it enacted, THAT no money shall be drawn out of any ward account, except for expenditures in the ward for which the account was opened, unless for it's proportion of any sum or sums required to be paid into the general account.

Approved November 18th, 1812.

On December the 21st, 1812, the Corporation ordered that a public market house should be established, to be called the Capitol Hill Market, which was located in the center of East Capitol Street, between 1st & 2nd streets East; rather a curious fact in connection with this market house, which was a two story building, not generally known, is that the U. S. Supreme and Circuit Courts used the upper story for court purposes after the destruction of the Capitol by the British forces, August 24th, 1814. Taxes were not high in those days, the rate being only \$0.50 on every \$100. value of real and personal property, while the owners of slaves were assessed \$1.50 for males and \$1.00 for females annually—payable only when the slaves were between the ages of fifteen and forty-five years.

The entire population of Washington, white and colored, was less than ten thousand, occupying about 1,500. houses.

Rapine had been in the 2nd, 3rd & 7th Council, to-

gether with the celebrated Architect James Hoban and other historic characters, such as Peter Hagner, John P. Van Ness, Daniel Carroll, Nicholas King et al.

Rapine had also served as Mayor a part of Mayor Brent's last term from June, 1811 to June, 1812, having been appointed by President Madison, to serve out the balance of Brent's term, when he, Brent, peremptorily declined to act any longer as Mayor.

3rd. MAYOR.

DR. JAMES H. BLAKE. 1813--1817.

The third Mayor, Dr. James H. Blake whose home was on the west side of 13th street, West, between E and F streets, was a physician of repute, universally esteemed, who entered upon the duties of his office when the City was seriously menaced by the enemy who finally after the disastrous battle of Bladensburg entered the City on the night of August 24th, 1814 and after perpetrating many acts of vandalism retired precipitately on the night of the 25th. It may not be out of place to allude here to the following appreciation of heroism.

AN ACT APPROPRIATING A SUM OF MONEY FOR THE PURCHASE OF A SWORD; TO BE PRESENTED TO COMMODORE BARNEY.

BE it enacted by the Board of Aldermen and the Board of Common Council of the City of Washington, THAT for the purpose of defraying the cost of a sword, which the City Council has voted to Commodore Bar-

ney, as a testimony of their respect for the gallantry and intrepidity displayed by himself, and the officers and men under his command, in the defence of the City on the 24th. day of August last, there shall be and is hereby appropriated, out of any monies in the general fund not otherwise appropriated, a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars to be expended under the direction of the Mayor of this City.

Approved October 18th, 1814.

August the 14th, 1814, President Madison issued a proclamation to Congress to convene in extra session, which assembled September the 19th, in chambers fitted out in the General Post Office building on 7th street N. W. (also known as Blodgett's Hotel), on account of the destruction of the U. S. Capitol building. It was during this session that the remarkable discussion occurred over the proposition to remove the National Capital from Washington the motion at one time prevailed, until finally by the influential exertions of the Virginia and Maryland representatives and by a very narrow margin it was at last decided to rebuild the public buildings which had been partially destroyed by the enemy and President Madison was authorized to borrow \$500,000 for these purposes from any bank or banks in the District of Columbia. It is certainly gratifying to know that the full amount needed by the U. S. Government was immediately tendered as a loan by the City banks.

An incident of the capture of Washington, was the venom displayed by the invaders towards the property of two future Mayors, Joseph Gales, Jr., and William W. Seaton, the editors and owners of the "National Intelligencer". Admiral Cockburn singled out the contents of their building to be burned in revenge for

their persistent advocacy of the continuation of the war.

This significant card appeared in the "National Intelligencer" of September the 1st. "Those citizens who politely endeavored to save any portion of our books from the flames to which the enemy consigned them or any of the printing materials &c. &c., are respectfully requested to deliver them to our foreman Andrew Tate and accept our thanks for their politeness." August 31st. Gales & Seaton.

This number of the paper also mentions "that on Thursday evening last while our devoted city was in possession of the Enemy, it was visited by a tremendous hurricane, which did great damage to the houses, blowing off the roofs of many, destroying chimnies, fences etc. In some parts of the City every house was more or less injured".

In the issue of August the 22nd, is the following strange notice:—

Marshal's Office (D. C.)

Washington, Aug. 22nd, 1814.

By order of the proper authority, it is required that all alien enemies, within the District of Columbia, report themselves weekly until further notice. This regulation can not be dispensed with. Those who reside in Washington County will report themselves at the Marshal's Office in Washington every Wednesday. Those who reside in Alexandria County will report themselves at the Marshal's Office in the Town of Alexandria every Wednesday.

WASHINGTON BOYD,

Marshal, Dist. Col.

At this time more than one third of the population was foreign born. Some of the most prominent resi-

dents were British subjects, yet to their honor be it said, they were invariably found in the ranks of the defenders of the National Capital. That Mayor Blake was not remiss in his duties can be gleaned from an appeal by him to his fellow citizens to enroll themselves in the different wards in independent companies, every man able to carry a musket, "because the Militia has gone to meet the enemy": he concludes the call by stating "that the well known patriotism of the Citizens of Washington, is a sure guarantee that they will cheerfully comply with so reasonable a request at a time of peril like the present. Affection for our Wives, Children and Homes,—Patriotism and interest, all demand our services in the best way we can render them."

Congress being temporarily without a home, Daniel Carroll of Duddington and Thomas Law with a few associates erected a building for their use at the Southwest corner of 1st and A streets, North-east, which was afterwards known as the Brick Capitol; this structure was completed in four months time so that on December the 8th, 1815, the first session of the Fourteenth Congress met there. It was in front of this building, then called Congress Hall, that President James Monroe was inaugurated March 5th, 1817. At the present time it is converted into private residences, in one of which Associate Justice Stephen J. Field, of the U. S. Supreme Court resides.

Mayor Blake was accused of cowardice in leaving the City when the British entered, but he replied so vigorously, in his controversy with Dr. Wm. Thornton that the charges were abandoned. Rather an interesting item appears in the "Intelligencer" under date of September 9th. "The Public Buildings having been mostly destroyed the various offices are locating them-

selves in those private houses which are most commodious and conveniently situated for the purpose. The President will occupy Col. Tayloe's large house, which was lately occupied by the French Minister; the Department of State occupies the house lately occupied by Judge Duvall; the Treasury Department is fixed at the house formerly occupied by the British Minister Foster; the War office is in the building adjoining the Bank of the Metropolis; the Navy Office in Mr. Mechlin's house near the West Market and the General Post Office in one of Mr. Way's new houses" etc. etc.

Dr. Wm. Thornton, previously mentioned, is entitled to the credit of saving much valuable public and private property; he speaks in commendation of the actions of Dr. James Ewell and Major L'Enfant during this exciting period. Somewhat comforting midst all this warlike turmoil is it to find that "The subscriber will accommodate a small family with furnished lodgings or board; or can accommodate FOUR members of Congress with comfortable board on reasonable terms.

THADY HOGAN.

North F St, near St. Patrick's church."

Under date of September 26th, is published "The Star Spangled Banner," for the first time in Washington, it is credited to a Baltimore paper, a foot note says,—“Whoever is the author of these lines, they do equal honor to his principles and his talents.” Nat. Int. el.

It was not known at this time that Francis Scott Key, then a resident of Georgetown, was the author.

An appeal for funds was made by Gales and Seaton in the following style

“Bank notes of every description, counterfeits excepted, will be thankfully received by the editors of the

National Intelligencer in payment of arrears and advance from their subscribers and Patrons, without discount or deduction”.

Apparently even in those days, journalists had to contend with delinquent subscribers.

Dr. Blake while a native of Calvert County, Maryland, practiced his profession for a number of years in Virginia, coming to Washington in 1807, where he received distinguished attention on account of his professional ability, taking an active part in all public affairs. He was filling the office of register of wills, at the time of his death, July 29th, 1819.

4th MAYOR.

BENJAMIN G. ORR. 1817—1819.

Mr. Orr resided at the N. W. corner of 8th St. and Market Space, N. W., occupied now by Mr. Hoeke's furniture establishment: during his mayoralty he was very active in procuring public improvements, grading streets and securing the passage of laws for the better maintenance of order etc. He received the authority of the Common Council to borrow the money from the local banks and to pledge the taxes of the City for the faithful payment of the debt: he was also directed to issue ten thousand Corporation due bills of \$1.00 each to be applied to similar uses. Apparently the citizens had a bad dog scare during the year 1819, for on August the 14th, an Act was passed forbidding any dogs running at large in the City, between the 1st of May and the 1st day of November, it was ordered that “it shall be the duty of the constable in their respective

wards to kill and bury all such dogs," and provided further, that "it shall also be lawful for any OTHER PERSON WHATSOEVER, to kill any dog going at large within the period aforesaid."

The Mayor seemed also to think that the morals of the inhabitants required the closing of the public markets on Sundays, so he persuaded the Corporation to repeal all laws permitting such opening and substituting Saturdays as the proper time for housekeepers to lay in supplies. It was also during his term that any and every person was clothed with the power to kill and destroy every animal of the goat kind that should be found running at large. The City was becoming more cultivated too, \$1,000. was appropriated for the purchase of four large fire bells to be placed on the top of the several ward market houses; fire companies were organized; apparatus purchased and other necessities indulged in: the money was partially raised by the means of lotteries; firebugs were not unknown, for on the 13th of April, 1819, the Mayor was instructed to offer a reward of \$500. for the apprehension of the incendiaries. The following resolutions are interesting:—

RESOLUTIONS FIXING NAMES TO CERTAIN AVENUES.

RESOLVED by the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council of the City of Washington, THAT the following avenues in the City of Washington shall, hereafter be designated by the names hereinafter respectively affixed thereto, to wit:

The avenue as laid out on the ground plan of the City running in a north eastern direction from the open space formed by the intersection of East Capitol

street with Massachusetts, North Carolina and Kentucky Avenue, to the boundary of the City, TENNESSEE AVENUE.

The avenue, as laid out on the ground plan of the City running in a south western direction from Judiciary Square to Canal street, LOUISIANA AVENUE.

The Avenue, as laid out on the ground plan of the City, running in a south eastern direction from Fifteenth street west to Canal street, OHIO AVENUE.

The Avenue as laid out on the ground plan of the City running in a south eastern direction from Judiciary Square, INDIANA AVENUE.

RESOLVED, That the Mayor be requested to present the aforesaid resolutions to the President of the United States and respectfully solicit his approbation.

Approved November 4th, 1818.

JAMES MONROE.

RESOLUTION TO RAISE BY LOTTERY THE SUM OF TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, FOR THE PURPOSES THEREIN MENTIONED.

RESOLVED by the Board of Aldermen and the Board of Common Council of the City of Washington, THAT it is expedient, to raise, by lottery, the sum of ten thousand dollars (clear of expenses) in addition to the sums heretofore authorized, for the following objects, to wit: for building, establishing and endowing public schools, for building a penitentiary and for building a town house or city hall in the City of Washington.

RESOLVED that the Mayor present the foregoing resolution to the President of the United States and respectfully solicit his approbation.

Approved November 4th, 1818.

JAMES MONROE.

It was during Orr's term that an important change was made in the building regulations that Washington had originally approved Oct. 17th, 1791: these had provided that "all houses erected in the City must have brick or stone walls, that none should be higher than forty feet nor lower than thirty five feet on any Avenue, no frame houses were to be constructed within the City excepting temporary conveniences for lodging workmen or to secure building materials and these were to be removed at once when so ordered by the Commissioners"; but it appears from the records that Presidents Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Madison had at various times suspended the enforcement of this law, until January 14th, 1818, President Monroe issued a proclamation in which he stated that experience had taught that these arbitrary provisions seriously impeded the improvement of the City and ordered their abrogation until January 1st, 1820, excepting however that no wooden house should cover more than 320 square feet nor be higher than twelve feet from sill to eaves nor should they be within 24 feet of a brick or stone building. Again in 1822, President Monroe modified these laws to some extent, probably finding their severity retarded too much the growth of the City.

Samuel Lane, Commissioner of Public Buildings, having been charged with paying extravagant prices for labor and materials used upon the public buildings, in a report submitted to Congress, January 25th, 1820, furnishes an interesting table of such cost, which proves that the invasion of Washington gave an impetus to building and to the working classes that was attended by beneficial results, and it is added here for information, to wit:—

A TABLE SHOWING THE PRICE OF MATERIALS AND LABOR AT SEVERAL DIFFERENT PERIODS: AS GIVEN AT THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN WASHINGTON CITY.

	From 1793 to 1800	1800-1812	1815-1820
Stonecutter's wages per day.....	\$1.25 to \$1.33	\$1.50 to \$1.75	\$2.50 to \$2.75
Bricklayer's wages per day.....	1.50 to 1.75	1.50 to 1.75	2.00 to 2.25
Carpenter's wages per day.....	1.00 to 1.50	1.00 to 1.50	1.62 to 1.88
Laborer's wages per day.....	.75	.75	1.00
Free stone per ton.....	7.00 to 8.00	8.00 to 9.00	10.00 to 12.00
Brick per thousand.....	7.00	7.00 to 7.50	9.00 to 9.12
Plank flooring per 100 feet.....	4.66 $\frac{2}{3}$	4.66 $\frac{2}{3}$	7.50
Plank, inch clear, 100 feet.....	1.50 to 2.00	1.50 to 2.00	4.00
Plank, inch rough, 100 feet.....	1.00	1.25 to 1.50	2.00

Washington, January 25th. 1820,
 SAMUEL LANE,
 Com. Pub. Bldgs.

5th MAYOR.

SAMUEL N. SMALLWOOD. 1819—1822.

Our fifth Mayor, who was the leading dealer in lumber and building supplies, lived at the corner of 2nd & N streets, Southeast, in the neighborhood of Smallwood's Wharf located at the foot of 2nd street, Southeast on the "Eastern Branch," one of the main wharves of the City. In 1820 the City had a population of 13,474 persons, of these 3,636 were colored, being about one-half slaves and the other half free colored; or about 1-3 colored, a ratio maintained to the present day; there were 2,141 buildings in Washington. The neighboring City of Alexandria contained 9,844 inhabitants and Georgetown had 7,519, so that their combined popula-

tion exceeded that of the Capital. It was under Smallwood that the plans were adopted for a City Hall as prepared by the English architect, George Hadfield, (who had served in 1803 in the 2nd Council) and the selection was made of Judiciary Square, the present site, for the purpose, instead of reservation 17 (now Garfield Park), which was specified in the original plan of the City of Washington. The structure was commenced, with imposing Masonic ceremonies:

RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE MAYOR TO TAKE POSSESSION OF JUDICIARY SQUARE FOR THE ERECTION OF A CITY HALL.

RESOLVED by the Board of Aldermen and board of Common Council of the City of Washington, THAT the mayor be, and is hereby authorized, to take possession, with the consent of the President, of the United States, of such part of the Judiciary Square, south of E street North, for the purpose of erecting thereon a City Hall, and occupying the same for public purposes.

RESOLVED, That the foregoing resolution be submitted to the President of the United States for his approbation

Approved April 4, 1820.

June 8th. 1820.

I approve the resolution of the Board of Aldermen and board of common council of the city of Washington of April 4th, 1820, so far as to authorize the Mayor to take possession of so much of Judiciary Square as will be necessary for the erection thereon of a City Hall. Not knowing the amount of ground, included within the bounds described, I will at an

early period cause to be marked out, by precise line, so much as shall be fully adequate, on a liberal scale, to all public purposes contemplated by the resolution, which may be authorized by law,

JAMES MONROE.

After Smallwood had served one term the city charter was amended by Congress, May 15, 1820, providing that the Mayor should be elected by the same persons who were qualified to vote for the members of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council, he was, therefore, elected to the position he was then occupying, for a term of two years.

April 5th, 1821, the Corporation enacted laws governing the institution for the accommodation of the destitute poor, giving it the official name of the "Washington Asylum"; this was located on M street, between 6th and 7th streets, N. W.

Liberal appropriations by the City were constantly being made for the improvement of streets etc. An Act was also passed to pay to Francis Scott Key the sum of \$60. for his services as counsel and attorney for the Corporation. The Mayor was also "authorized and directed to lease to Messrs. Warren and Wood, or to trustees to be appointed by the stockholders to a new theatre or to any other person or persons, so much ground as shall be granted by the President of the United States as a site for a theatre, for a term not exceeding twenty years, at an annual rent of ten dollars, conditioned that if said theatre shall cease to be used for dramatic exhibitions for a term of two years, such lease shall be void and of no effect and the Mayor is hereby authorized and directed in such event to take possession of said theatre and hold it subject to the future disposition of the said Corporation." Section 2

allows an extension of the lease for a further term of 20 years, at a rent to be not less than 5 per cent. of the net clear profits, which may be derived from the use of said theatre etc.

While labor and materials were not expensive in these primitive days, yet the cost of laying sidewalks in front of buildings by the Corporation exposed the owners to a tax of not less than \$2.50 to \$3.00 per front foot, more than double the amount charged at the present time; still the paternal solicitude of the City fathers for the welfare of the community was manifested in many ways, apparently they were never contented unless they were engaged in framing laws for the amelioration of their constituents; what with enacting stronger scavenger laws, or measures regulating slaves or free persons of color, or adjusting salaries, it can readily be seen that they were kept busy. When receipts from taxes were insufficient to defray expenses, the money was borrowed from the Banks, or corporation due bills in denomination of \$0.50 or \$1.00 were issued, or when larger sums were needed, then lotteries were started to tide the affairs over until money became more plentiful; the sale of lottery tickets furnished the means not only to erect the City Hall but also other public buildings. Churches, even, did not disdain to avail themselves of the means of lotteries to raise funds, in fact it can readily be claimed that during a period of over fifty years lotteries were not only tolerated but they were always popular.

Mayor Smallwood's 6th. term expired June, 1822, he was succeeded by Mayor Thomas Carberry who served until June, 1824, when the very popular Smallwood was again called to the Mayoralty but unfortunately was removed by the hand of death on September 30th, 1824, his last public Act being the following:—

“RESOLVED by the board of Aldermen and board of Common Council of the City of Washington, **THAT** the Mayor, the President of the board of Aldermen, the President of the board of Common Council, two members of each board of the Council, major general Brown, commodore Tingey, Daniel Carroll of Duddington and Richard Bland Lee, esquires, be, and they are hereby requested to act as a committee in behalf of the citizens of Washington to make suitable arrangements to receive and entertain General Lafayette, in the Metropolis of the Nation, of which he is the guest, and to make every arrangement to pay him that high respect to which his eminent services to the Republic so justly entitle him.

RESOLVED that the said committee be requested to confer with the President of the United States upon the subject of the manner of receiving General Lafayette, and to adapt their arrangements so as to harmonize with those of the national authorities.

RESOLVED, that if in the opinion of the Mayor and the Presidents of the two boards, it shall be considered expedient for the two boards to be convened to make further provisions for carrying into effect the arrangements that may be adopted by the committee, then the Mayor shall convene the two boards in session for that purpose.

Approved August 24th, 1824.

SAMUEL N. SMALLWOOD,

Mayor.

Smallwood first entered public life in 1804 when he was elected to the 3rd Council as Alderman, having Rapine as his colleague, he occupied a similar position in 1806 and was elected President of the board in 1809, serving again in 1810 & 1811; he was the only one of our twenty mayors who died while in office.

There were at this period eleven churches of all denominations in the City: the Masonic hall was on the West side of 11th street, immediately South of Pa. Ave., occupied now by the new Post Office, opposite the theatre, also called Carusi's saloon; the Orphan Asylum on 7th street, East side, between H & I streets; the General Post Office & Patent Office occupied the building on E street, between 7th & 8th streets, on which the P. O. department is now located. South Washington was an island separated from the balance of the city by water courses and canals. Members of Congress, Representatives and Senators received \$8.00 per diem for their services when in attendance. A tariff reduction averaging about ten per cent was allowed on all goods imported in American vessels as an incentive for the expansion of our commercial marines, (worthy of imitation now-a-days) while the District of Columbia had considerable direct commercial traffic with foreign countries, having two ports of entry, Georgetown and Alexandria, through which foreign goods were received in large quantities.

The PRESIDENT: Before adjournment, I desire to ask the Society whether there is any resolution or business in order. If not, I desire in their name to express to the gentlemen who have addressed us the hearty thanks of the Society. Several of the addresses, as you have noticed, show very thorough research into the records of the City, and historical investigation of great value. We congratulate the gentlemen upon the success of their efforts; and especially, may I say, in respect of one of our mayors, Peter Force, a more beautiful tribute, evidently dictated from per-

sonal regard and esteem, has never been rendered to a citizen than that rendered to Peter Force's memory by Mr. Spofford to-night. (Applause.)

With this acknowledgment to all the speakers for the labor and the interest they have afforded the Society and the audience, I await a motion to adjourn, if there is no other business pending.

Upon motion, the Society adjourned, sine die.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION'S CAPITAL.

By Tallmadge A. Lambert.

[Read before the Society January 4, 1897.]

The evolution of the modern state may be measurably traced in the development of its Capital City. The foundations of London and Paris, it is true, were laid with little reference to the subsequent representative characters of those two cities and at times when neither the autonomy, nor the national glory of Great Britain, or of France was even remotely anticipated. From the period, however, when England, under the vigorous rule of the Plantagenets and France under the political sway of Louis the Eleventh, became in effect, as well as in name, a thoroughly centralized government, London, as well as Paris, expanded in the direct ratio of national growth and reflected faithfully the genius of national development. If this be true of the metropolis accidentally planted on the banks of the Thames and of the city casually set in the center of the Seine, the observation is no less just in respect of such younger capitals as Vienna, Berlin and Moscow.

With yet greater truth does the observation apply to our own Washington. Here, beside the tawny Poto-

mac, the seed was sown, scarcely more than a century ago, which was preordained by the sower to germinate the municipal plant which should grow with the growth and develop with the energies of the Nation.

The hardy colonists emerged from their Revolutionary struggle individually free and personally independent. The reaction from political thralldom and personal dependence had well nigh precipitated the opposite evil of administrative paralysis and the undue assertion of the rights of the individual man. History and the mistakes of history were equally before them and they were singularly well fitted by native discernment and scholastic attainment to be instructed by the one and warned by the other. That they should have perpetuated, for a time, the errors of the Archaian League and the Helvetic Cantons ought not to be for us so much matter of surprise as that, in swift recognition of their mistake, they should have dissolved the nerveless bond of a confederacy and, having struck out for themselves in the science of politico-philosophy, the essentially new and original idea of nationality, they should have boldly converted themselves into a nation of constituent States.

When the Constitutional Convention of 1787 met it was at an awful crisis in the affairs of mankind. Its members had been tried by the triple fires of war, of political revolution and of philosophical disputation. The area was marked by social convulsion, governmental disruption and theoretical speculations upon the institutions, the capabilities and the temporal destinies of mankind. To the highly bred and highly endowed members of this remarkable convention—some of whom held masters' degrees from the most noted of the English Universities—all that could be gleaned from the story of past dynasties was clearly revealed.

To the practical economics of Aristotle they added a profound knowledge of the institutional histories of Greece and Rome and of the modern states which owe their origin to the dissolution of the Roman Empire. Above all they had familiarized themselves with the valuable method of political comparison and of politico-philosophical disquisition which had been adopted by Montesquieu to sway, to direct and to captivate the minds of his cotemporaries. The deliberations of men so experienced, so endowed and, mentally, so well equipped could not have failed to be productive of adequate result. The event, however, was such as must have exceeded all cotemporaneous expectation. With the simple formula "We, the people," was projected the planetary system of States and Governments a creation absolutely new, curiously unique and—most serious consideration of all—wholly untried. It was no less than the astounding adaptation of the theory of nationality to an indeterminate number of municipal bodies each moving within its own political orbit independent of but, nevertheless, in strict co-ordination with the other. It is as though the authors, in their quest of a comprehensive system of government which should supply the deficiencies in the discarded leagues, alliances and confederacies of the past, had imitated the brilliant achievement of their fellow countryman, Franklin, and, exploring the circumambient ether, had traduced from the planetary system its primordial law for the practical use and government of men who were not more desirous to be free than to conserve their freedom by the self-imposed restraints of Order. For the development of this virgin idea there was, luckily, at hand a virgin soil. No clearance of weed-like prejudices and gnarled and misshapen customs was needed for its planting and untrammelled growth. How it ger-

minated and how beneficently it has developed the free, the contented and the prosperous condition of 70,000,000 of the human race to-day attests.

This nation of component states and constituent citizens, unlike the governments previously known to historiographers, had, as we have seen an *a priori* existence. Its scheme was established in advance or, at the most, at the very instant of its creation. Instead of arising fitfully and perilously upon the strata formed by successive civic convulsions—instead of projecting, as by alluvial accretion, a scheme of organic existence by the slow accumulation of customs and traditions, it started into being accurately defined and carefully limited by the injunctions and the sanctions of a carefully devised written constitution. Its advent was like that of the fabled Minerva—fully armed, with lance in rest and defensively provided with corselet, helm and targe.

To me, reflecting upon the events of this stupendous æra it has ever seemed that the moral and intellectual revolution which terminated with the overthrow of the Federation and eventuated in the birth of this marvellous idea of composite nationality was the most remarkable and salutary in the entire history of the human race. The fame of it far transcends the reputation, great as it is, which the actors in that revolution had just achieved in the recently concluded struggle for political independence. Both were timely for both, as I have already observed, occurred at a supreme—an awful—crisis in the affairs of men. The one secured possession of that freedom which the other is designed to preserve. In the proportion that it is even more commendable to save than to acquire is the relative practical value to its possessors of the fruits of the two revolutions.

Having worked out this idea of nationality and

given it permanent shape and expression in the Federal Constitution, it became the immediate concern of those who had framed that instrument to provide for the abstract entity—the creation of their philosophical speculation—a fixed and independent abiding place. It is the commonly received opinion that the reservation of a special and exclusive site for the nation's capital was inspired by the apprehension of possible interference with the freedom of legislation in situations not wholly subjected to the control of the general government. The occurrence of the military emeute at Philadelphia while the Congress was there assembled is usually referred to as conclusive of the correctness of this theory. I think, however, that the isolation of the Capital City of the country was the result of a profounder and more philosophical consideration. I prefer to regard it as the logical consequence of the national idea of government. While the newly emancipated colonies yet constituted a league their several representatives were essentially ambassadors and when they met it was to consult upon a limited range of subjects relating, almost exclusively, to matters of common defense. For this purpose it little mattered where they might meet or that they should establish by common consent a permanent place of meeting within the limits of any determinate state. There was no ground common to the confederacy which could serve the purpose of a permanent meeting place and if there had been such common ground the essential motive for devoting it to this purpose was, of necessity, wanting. With the adoption of the Constitution that motive was distinctly supplied by the scheme of national unity which the Constitution exhibits. A nation was thereby formed and with it, as a necessary corollary, a national abiding place was projected. The

one is as little conceivable apart from the other as would be the living torso from the governing head. What the sages—I had almost said the magicians—of the Constitutional Convention succeeded in doing was to frame a gigantic and unprecedented Corporation—a juristic being of colossal proportions whose constituent elements were, primarily, persons in their normal and natural relations and, secondarily, persons in their abnormal and corporate relations. It is in the former or primary sense that the expression “We, the people of the United States” is used in the great constituent act of the new government. Unity had been sought for by the Articles of Confederation—Union was accomplished under the Constitution. The latter is a charter resting upon solemn covenant—the former had been a pact resting upon consent—a mere rope of sand. Out of the projected union had been evolved the paramount idea of Nationality. The states were to be no longer bound together by a friable league. They were to become the component parts of a national system whose primary constituents would be the individual citizens of the several States. From the coordination of the States was to be evolved a government whereof each state would be an element and which would, by its very essence, be inclusive of all the State or, as the idea is sometimes sought to be expressed, the States were to become *imperii in imperio*.

If I have been clear in stating my view of the origin of our government it becomes easy to understand why its founders should have sought, simultaneously with its organization, to establish a suitable place for its administration. It is equally comprehensible why the site to be selected should have been subjected to its exclusive jurisdiction. If it is deemed expedient to establish for a corporation, whether private, public or

quasi-public, an office for the unfettered transaction of its affairs how much more must this necessity have impressed itself upon the minds of our Constitution framers in respect of the transcendent corporation which they were engaged in creating?

The result, as we know, was the selection by Washington and the acceptance by Congress of the area of ten miles square which formed the original limits of the Federal District. A more unpromising site could scarcely have been proposed to the fashionable and exclusive sets of such centers of luxury and refinement as the cities of Philadelphia, New York, Albany and Boston are represented to have been at that time. To make it incumbent upon the representatives of such cultured constituencies to abandon, for even a time, their highly civilized surroundings, for the Council House located in a comparative wilderness was, in effect, to require them to repeat some of the self-sacrificing experiences of their hardy ancestors when, as pioneers, they deserted the soft delights of European society to plant the seeds of civilization in the virgin soil of the new world. Animated, it may be, by much the same spirit of heroism and self abnegation these, their worthy descendants, failed not, at the call of duty, to sacrifice personal comfort for the public weal. They came, they saw, they conquered—as well their individual prejudices as the natural obstacles by which they were surrounded. West of Rock Creek, the patented Rock of Dumbarton exhibited a social foundation already fifty years old and a culture not second in some respects to that which formed the boast of the cities I have named and Alexandria was a chief emporium of the South. Looking, however, eastward of the Creek the Federal City, about which speculation was naturally rife, existed, practically, in the imagina-

tions of men save, so far, as their imaginations may have been stimulated by the only tangible evidence of existence afforded by the magnificent, I had almost said, the magniloquent, plan of the prescient L'Enfant. The pioneer, however, was speedily at work. Before the nervous tension of his stalwart arm the forest rapidly disappeared—marsh was transformed to *terra firma* and, with the erection of the Capitol, the Executive Mansion, Post Office and other buildings appeared at first in rows, as if for mutual encouragement and, then, singly, here and there, along the rudely defined streets and avenues, the dwellings of those who, inspired by the courage of their republican convictions, ventured to establish, amid such unfamiliar and unpromising surroundings, their *Lares* and *Penates*. All honor to these adventurous founders of our Nation's Capital. For them existed no hope of civic honor and official recognition. They were not even at liberty to style themselves citizens of the territory whose waste they had redeemed. They were residents, merely, or, more properly, comorants. The single reservation made in their favor by the acts of cession of right in the soil which they severally possessed distinguished them from squatters or actual trespassers. With no expectation of political preferment they were content to relinquish the cherished right of suffrage and to link their fortunes with the nascent destinies of the infant capital of a no less infant republic. It is not easy to withhold our admiration for the confidence which inspired those early dwellers within our gates—equally in the stability of the new government and in the success of its projected capital. For many decades this confidence was subjectively sustained. The work of capital-building, unlike the vigorous work of nation-building, absolutely languished. Notwithstanding

the liberal donations in land which had been made by the Nineteen proprietors of the city's territory; notwithstanding the gratuity by Maryland of \$72,000 and by Virginia of \$120,000 munificent offerings both, when we reflect that they proceeded from the exchequers of war-ridden and impoverished communities, the work of improvement went forward with painful slowness. Making all due allowance for the exigencies—the *res augustæ domi*—of the federal government in the first quarter of the century, the extreme parsimony exhibited by successive Congresses in dealing with the territory committed to their exclusive charge by the Constitution has never seemed to me to be capable of justification. Hence, I repeat the confidence of the earlier inhabitants in the future stability of the capital was for decades, aye for a generation or more, subjectively nourished. It certainly derived support from no extraneous sources.

I have adverted to the liberality of the nineteen original proprietors in dealing with the Commissioners for laying out the Federal city. It is not claiming too much to assert that history shows few parallels to the disinterestedness of these liberty-loving farmers—these simple minded gentry of the soil.

It has been the fashion to disparage their motives and to hold that they were not free from a speculative regard for the effect which the location of the nation's capital might exert upon the residue of their landed possessions. It should be remembered, however, that their holdings bounded upon a navigable stream whose availability for commerce had already assured the prosperity of the neighboring city of Alexandria and was rapidly developing the contiguous municipality of Georgetown. The lands of these proprietors were yet more advantageously located than either of the towns

I have mentioned, since they were bounded on two sides by the Potomac and its navigable Eastern Branch. There was every reason, therefore, to anticipate the ultimate rise, at this point, of a city which, possessing a more extensive navigable front than either Alexandria or Georgetown, would speedily overreach both in the race of commercial prosperity. Besides, the suggestion is not to be tolerated that the selection of the site for the federal city was determinable by the cupidity of the government, on the one hand, or the speculative schemes of individuals on the other. Perish the very thought that such ignoble aims could have influenced the one or such venal considerations have animated the other! I prefer to believe—and I think I am sustained in the belief by contemporaneous records—that the liberal donation of 3,606 acres of private land for streets and of 982 acres, in 10,136 building lots to the general government, proceeded upon motives as disinterested as they were patriotic and liberal. If this was, unhappily, not the case certainly the anticipation of any great appreciation of their retained holdings by reason of the location of the federal city were very inadequately realized in the lives of the original proprietors and they must have found occasion, more than once, to rue the day when they sacrificed arable and productive acres for imperfectly projected and illy paved streets and lots that served no other purpose than to pasture the domestic cows and goats of a new and struggling population.

However this may have been the city, ill favored as yet, grew as the nation developed and waxed, eventually, sturdy and strong. It was not, we must confess, a picturesque growth. The older sections exhibit, at this day, the deplorable absence of architectural adornment from the dwellings of that primitive time.

The sanitary condition, too, of the low-lying area was something hardly conceivable by those of a later generation acquainted only with the hygienic attributes of the modern sewer and the beneficent results of marsial reclamation. It is within the writer's memory that almost the entire limits of what was known in earlier municipal phraseology as the First Ward—a section which has always been devoted to fashion and diplomacy—the malarial influence of neighboring and exposed alluvial deposit was exhibited in the continual recurrence of fever and ague. I know whereof I speak for about the close of my first decade I was an inmate of my grandmother's household on I between 18th and 19th streets and the remembrance of my truly bitter experiences with daily doses of quinine to avert or to mitigate the quotidian or tertian alternations of shivering cold and throbbing heat is yet vividly retained. The fact, too, that I was only one of a multitude of sufferers from the same annual endemic never suggested itself for a moment as a solace to my childish sensibilities. It was pure, unadulterated and unmitigated suffering—made all the more intolerable by the now exploded theory which denied to the parched lips of the fever stricken patient the eagerly longed-for draught of cool and limpid water. Happily for the present generation the development of science and a more liberal policy on the part of the government has removed the evil to which I refer. The fetid and stagnant stream which formerly bisected the city and converted one of its halves into a veritable island has been covered and converted to its legitimate use as a *cloaca maxima*. In other directions sewers radiate from similar trunks in conformity with a system that is yet approaching perfection. The malaria breeding shallows of the Potomac are being fast reclaimed to *terra firma* and it is not

to be doubted that the swamps which fringe and disfigure the Eastern Branch of that river will shortly disappear in response to the intelligent demands of science. All this has been the result of thirty years of progress. If we add five years to that period in retrospect what a vastly different spectacle presents itself to the mental vision from that which greets us outwardly at present!

Then grim-visaged war reared his horrid front within the land. The growth of national prosperity had in some respects transcended the development of the capital city. Visitors from neighboring cities did not attempt to conceal the disappointment and disgust with which they contrasted the superior attractions of their own municipalities with the sordid attributes of the nation's capital. The really superior private residences might have been readily counted. The section bounded by K, Fourteenth, the Boundary and by Rock Creek which is now occupied by palatial improvements was then but sparsely inhabited and in great part uninhabitable by reason of its marshy character. The more pretentious dwellings were to be found about Lafayette Square and for a limited distance along the streets from F to W west of Sixteenth street. F street from Seventh to Fifteenth afforded no suggestion of its present availability for business purposes and, if I remember correctly, was not even paved or, if paved at all, paved only with cobblestones such as made Pennsylvania Avenue, throughout its entire length, a veritable bed of torture. North of F street I do not recall a single carriage-way that was even macadamized. On more than one occasion I remember to have seen long trains of army wagons stalled in the mud of H street and of Rhode Island Avenue.

At that time I was an undergraduate of the George-

town University. The dread alarm had broken, with startling effect, upon the peaceful quietude of our academic surroundings. What is worse, the exigencies of the situation made it necessary to quarter upon us, for a time, the Sixty-ninth regiment of N. Y. National Guard. This regiment was composed, exclusively, of genuine sons of Erin—ever ready to fight for the liberties of others though powerless to unite in defense of their own. The men had been hastily mustered into service and upon their arrival at the College were undisciplined and somewhat impatient of restraint. They were on the borders of the enemy's country, too, and their fervid imaginations inclined them to see an armed foe in every object which they viewed in the uncertain light of the gloaming or under the darker shadows of night. The result of the nervous tension was speedily exhibited. Night after night and sometimes, at intervals during the same night, the inmates of the College would be aroused by the sharp and successive calls of the sentries in response to the alarm of an outlying picket, followed immediately by the roll of the drum, the rapid formation of the men under arms and their swift clattering departure for the scene of the supposed attack. The result was uniformly the same. Instead of Jeb Stuart and the Black Horse cavalry of a predatory band of Valley guerillas, some peacefully grazing cow or uneasily dreaming hog would be disclosed by the prodding bayonets of the forlorn hope as the sole *teterrima causa belli*. The writer's encounter with one of these hysterical guards is vividly impressed upon his memory. The scene was the College *campus*—the hour, well, anywhere between midnight and dawn. A social function of unusual attractiveness in neighboring Georgetown had lured the young collegian to disregard the rule connected with the early closing of the

College gates. In anticipation of his late return he had secured, from the officer of the day, the coveted countersign. Knowing by experience that it was impracticable to bribe the *Cerberus* of the outer portal nothing remained for our adventurer but to scale the wall and trust to the cabalistic countersign for his safe and unobserved attainment of the dormitory. Fate, however, was against him. He had climbed the wall successfully at a point of deepest shadow and was speeding stealthily across the intervening *campus* when every nerve was thrilled by the sharp and angry call of a hitherto invisible sentry to halt! followed by the demand "Who goes there?" Before our startled truant could make the usual response of "A friend!" the ominous click of the musket lock was borne upon his ears and, in the dim light of the stars, he beheld the point of a bayonet nervously agitated within a few inches of his breast. The situation was embarrassing to say the least. The sentry's trepidation was manifested by the quivering of his piece and the excited repetition of his demand for the countersign. This our student found to his consternation he had totally forgotten. Like the self-imprisoned poacher in Ali Baba's new found cave, he ran over, frantically, in his mind every conceivable syllable that could, in the remotest degree, recall the cabalistic countersign. He was confronted by two evils almost equally formidable. The one was the imminent danger of being shot by the accidental discharge of the nervously handled weapon—the other that the sentry's cry of alarm would disclose the fact of his escapade to the College authorities. To obviate the latter our student resorted to every persuasive of which he was master, but in vain. The sentry could not be persuaded that he had before him a mild and inoffensive academician instead of a rebel

scout backed, in the shadows beyond, by a whole detachment of bloodthirsty guerillas. Finding that no alternative remained, therefore, the sentry was urged to call the guard which, being done, our hero was recognized by the Corporal and permitted to seek the quiet and seclusion of his couch without further interruption. Whether it was that the eye of an indulgent prefect refused to note the dereliction or the frequency of similar alarms had made the college guardians indifferent to inquiry, I do not know, but in this instance, certainly, the penalty failed to follow the crime.

During the sojourn of the 69th within the College bounds a most impressive sight was witnessed by the writer. The men of the regiment were, probably without exception, Catholics. A temporary altar had been erected for their spiritual accommodation at the southern extremity of the *campus* which overlooked the Potomac and was plainly visible from the opposite hills which formed the steep Virginia shore. It was the custom of the regiment, which numbered 1,400 men, to assemble, daily, on the open *campus* for early mass. On an especially cloudless morning in May of that year, 1861, the men were kneeling, nearly prostrate, at the canon—the most solemn moment of the service. The regimental band which, up to that moment, had poured a flood of sacred melody upon the palpitating air, was silent and not a sound broke the solemn stillness save, possibly, the twitter of a passing bird. At this supreme crisis in the sacred ceremony my eyes were rivetted to the crest of the opposite hills by the glitter of arms and military accoutrements. A group of Confederate officers, attended by a small guard of cavalrymen engaged in reconnoitering and attracted, evidently, by the recent strains of martial music, had halted when in full view of the college grounds and

were intently studying, by the aid of glasses, the curious and unusual spectacle afforded by the reverent worshipers in blue. It was like the ominous hush which precedes the bursting of the tropical tornado. But two months hence and the participants in that peaceful May-morn pantomime would be struggling for victory and finding death or wounds in the coil of battle on the blood-soaked plain of Manassas by the reddened stream of Bull Run. The picture is one of the few which life presents to remain unfaded at its close.

During the period of which I speak the public facility for making the journey (and the term may be taken in its literal sense) from the Navy Yard to Georgetown was afforded by the omnibus line controlled and owned by Cornelius Vanderwercken. I remember the name because it was intimately associated in my boyish fancy, with that of the mysterious Vanderdecken of Flying Dutchman notoriety. Not that there was anything in the speed of Vanderwercken's vehicles to suggest the rapid-transit qualities of Vanderdecken's spectral ship. But—and I blush to own it—a fancied resemblance between the names ever associated the two in my boyish fancy and the coincidence was probly strengthened by comparing the discomforts of the omnibus with the legendary ills which threatened him who would rashly board the pirate's spellbound craft. These ills, however, I always aimed to mitigate by climbing to a seat beside the driver from which coigne of vantage I could interest myself sufficiently in passing objects to measurably forget the misery of being jolted and bruised, almost beyond endurance, over the rough pavement of Pennsylvania Avenue.

The unpaved condition of the streets and avenues at this time was productive of unqualified discomfort. In the comparatively dry season of summer every electric

tempest was heralded by a veritable dust-storm of corresponding violence and of all-pervading dimensions. The effect of these frequent visitations upon the inflammable tempers of model housewives may be imagined but cannot be described. In the wet months of winter and spring the carriage-ways were often rivers of mud and, in some instances, were, indeed, absolutely impassable. The continual movement of apparently interminable wagon trains and of large bodies of cavalry and infantry tended, as may be imagined, to intensify the discomforts of the situation.

Happily, the aera of Vanderwercken stages like that of the Flying Dutchman is relegated to the past and sanctified by tradition. The cobble-stones and the dirt carriageways are no less traditional and as much may be, luckily, said of the marvellous perversion of taste which would have made of Pennsylvania Avenue a perpetual *memento mori* by the presence, throughout its length, of the prim and shadeless—the inexpressibly funereal poplar of Lombardy.

It is somewhat more than a century since the first President of the Republic made his negotiations for the land which should constitute the nation's capital. A century has not yet passed since Congress first assembled within its bounds. A hundred years ordinarily counts for little in the age of cities or states. History, for instance, fails to measure the time which actually elapsed before the vaulting ambition of Rome o'erleaped the narrow bounds of the *urbs quadrata*. It was many centuries before the unequal growth of London gave assurance of her present peerless development and the same may be said of Paris and of other relatively important capitals of European states. Compared with the older prototypes to which I refer the growth of Washington may truly be said to have been

phenomenal. In this it naturally partakes the national development of which it is the center and the heart. In the ratio of the nation's progress has been the progress of its central political mart. Sensitive to every economic influence that could affect the general weal, the city has reflected, in its physical no less than in its social, moral and intellectual features, every stage in the evolution of national advancement, manners, ethics and mental culture. It has shared no less in the operation of those causes which have retarded national development. Chief among these was the almost incomprehensible cancer on the body politic—the blight of human slavery. With the excision of this tumor by the heroic surgery of war the vital fluid, hitherto arrested in its energizing flow, coursed through every artery and informed all parts of the corporate system alike. It was impossible that the heart should fail to receive its proportionate supply and, from that happy period, may be dated the establishment of perfect sympathy and accord between the development of the nation and the development of the capital city. The cause which quickens the pulse of any member of this ideal system of nationality affects, as by a subtle telepathy, the cardiac center and is fostered or resisted just as it may be beneficial or injurious to the political body.

As we glance, in retrospect, through the vista of an hundred years how the heart is quickened and the imagination fired by the dramatic scenes which have been enacted within these narrow bounds. What matchless eloquence has been evoked in the assertion of our nation's rights—of the liberty of our kind. What anathemas have been hurled at wrong, at tyranny, at oppression. What colossi have moved among us—what intellects have towered in our midst. The very

streets are consecrated by the tread of heroes. At every turn arise Valhallas constructed by the reverential touch of Memory.

Here has been the seat of a line of illustrious executives. From Washington to Cleveland—what nation, known to the historiographer, presents a succession of rulers equally unselfish, equally patriotic and equally free from the vices which inure, almost universally, to the exercise of similarly extensive powers?

From this point has radiated, through all these years and to all parts of the political system, the potent expression of the legislative will. Here the destinies of the nation have been shaped by Clay, by Webster and by a host of statesmen and earnest students of political science. This city has been, at all times, the rallying point of the nation's defenders. It was so in war—it is preeminently so in time of peace. Here is being expounded and here *has* been expounded, from time to time, since the foundation of the government, the tenets of that wonderful condensation of human wisdom as applied to the government of man—the Constitution. Here the pen of Marshall was busied for more than thirty years in the exposition of that great charter of our rights and government. Here he and his illustrious colleagues and his and their successors have been, and the survivors yet are, familiar figures upon the streets and thoroughfares of the capital whose stability they have done so much to assure.

Had the Constitution done no more than render possible such an august and irreproachable tribunal for the administration of justice its claim upon our admiration must have been transcendent. But it has done more. In creating the Nation's Capital it has provided a sanctuary for the Nation's freedom—a training ground for its liberties. It is one thing to be free—it

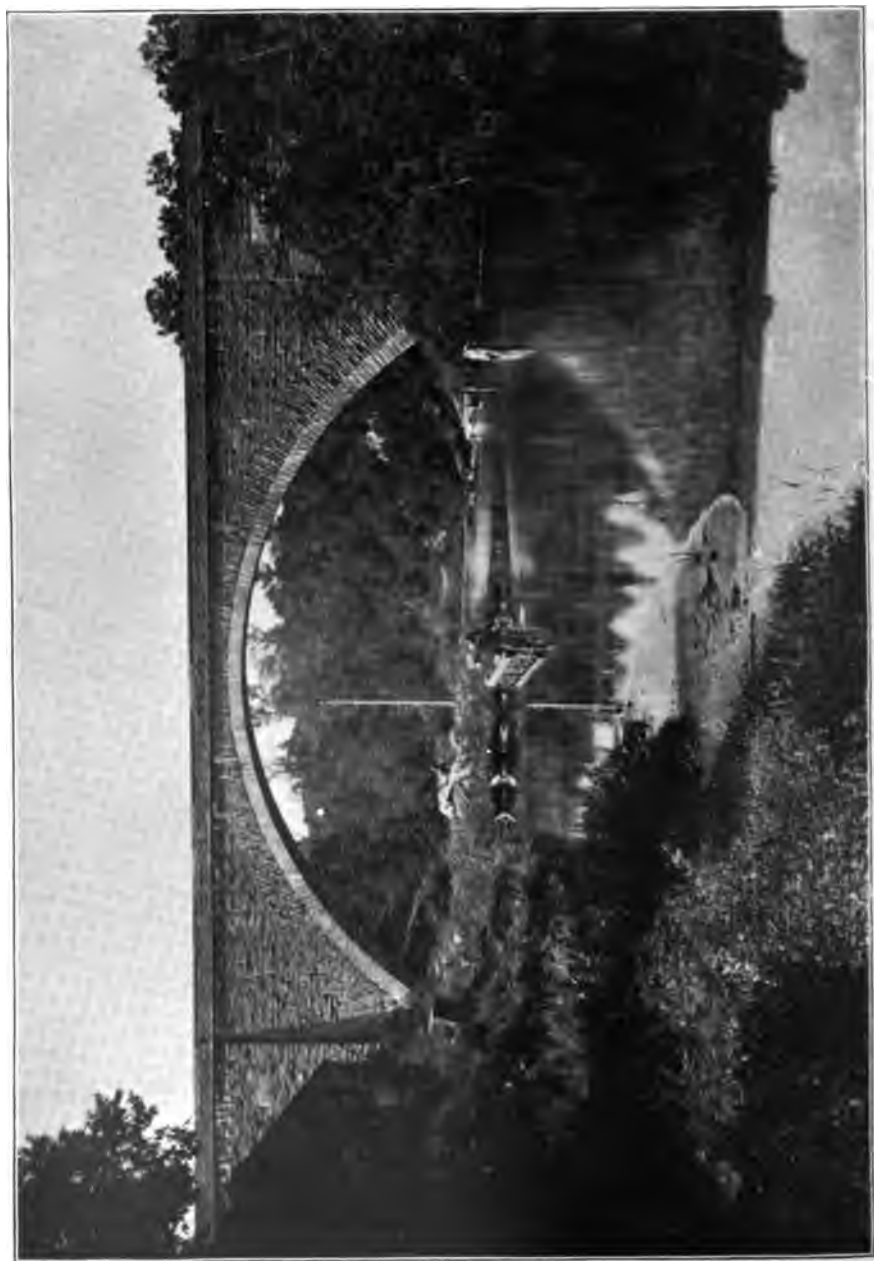
is another and a greater thing to merit freedom. Freedom and ignorance are halting companions. Neither is freedom compatible with vice. The soul that is enthralled cannot animate the stroke which would free. Hence the need of instruction and of instructors in the science of liberty. Hence the need of a place which should be devoted, exclusively, to that exalted cult. Appreciating this need the framers of the Constitution provided for the government's exclusive control of such place as might forever serve for the location of the temple of national freedom. Here it is provided that the sacred rites shall be perpetually performed and here it is ordained that the sacred fires shall burn unquenchably.

Made sacred by the associations of a glorious past, our city claims the admiration of mankind not less on that account than because of her rapidly developing physical and intellectual graces. She has garnered, in rich profusion, the mental treasures of the globe. In every department of science—in the realms of literature and of art she is the peer of every co-existent capital. It needs only the erection of that fondest dream of her founder—a National University—to make her limits the intellectual Mecca of the civilized world.

Fifty years of progress have been compassed within the period that has elapsed since the termination of the war. Few streets remain unpaved and the urban limits are being rapidly pushed to the exterior bounds of the District. The awkward municipal divisions which formerly characterized the latter have yielded place to an autonomous government. What was Georgetown once is West Washington now and the Levy Court has long since expired with the County it was supposed to govern. Miles of stately edifices usurp the place of squalid tenements or unconverted marsh land. The

prophetic plan of Washington and the zealous L'Enfant has been realized in all essential details. The nation, become acquainted with its capital through the exigencies of the war, has decreed that the future prosperity of that capital shall be commensurate with its own.

It may be said of our beloved Capital City that as she was, practically, baptized by the fires of war so has she been by war confirmed in her career of prosperity. Consecrated forevermore to Peace and to the Arts of peace, may she be perpetual with the Nation which gave her birth!



CONDITION DURING THE YEARS 1888-'89, BEFORE THE PARAPET WALLS WERE CONSTRUCTED.

1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 26

When the source of the information is not known, the information is referred to as anonymous information. Anonymous information is not used in the same way as information from a known source. It is used to identify trends and patterns in the data, but it is not used to identify specific individuals or organizations. Anonymous information is also used to provide feedback to the public about the agency's performance. For example, the agency may use anonymous information to identify areas where it is doing well and areas where it needs to improve. Anonymous information is also used to provide feedback to the public about the agency's policies and procedures. For example, the agency may use anonymous information to identify areas where the public has concerns or suggestions. Anonymous information is a valuable tool for the agency to use to improve its performance and to provide better service to the public.

[illegible][illegible]

The probability statement

$$P\left\{\left|\frac{\bar{X}_n - \mu}{\sigma/\sqrt{n}}\right| \leq z_{\alpha/2} \mid \text{data}\right\} = 1 - \alpha$$
 then holds only if the data follow

$\frac{1}{2} \times 10^{-3} \text{ mol dm}^{-3}$ of Fe^{2+} and $1.0 \times 10^{-3} \text{ mol dm}^{-3}$ of Fe^{3+} in 1.0 M HCl. The Fe^{2+} and Fe^{3+} were determined by the method of Inductively Coupled Plasma Atomic Emission Spectrometry (ICP-AES). The Fe^{2+} and Fe^{3+} were determined by the method of Inductively Coupled Plasma Atomic Emission Spectrometry (ICP-AES). The Fe^{2+} and Fe^{3+} were determined by the method of Inductively Coupled Plasma Atomic Emission Spectrometry (ICP-AES).

Following this, on March 10, 1990, the Board of Directors of the Corporation adopted a resolution to amend the Bylaws of the Corporation to provide that the Board of Directors of the Corporation shall have the authority to make any amendments to the Bylaws of the Corporation without the approval of the stockholders of the Corporation.

CABIN JOHN BRIDGE.

By Mr. William T. S. Curtis.

[Read before the Society November 1, 1897.]

The subject of the construction of the Washington Aqueduct has been given considerable prominence lately by reason of the very able and comprehensive paper presented by Captain D. DuB. Gaillard, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., at the field meeting of the National Geographic Society held October 2d of this year. Much interest has been revived as to this subject, particularly concerning the history of the construction of "Union Arch," familiarly known as Cabin John Bridge, which spans, with a single massive arch of masonry, Cabin John run or creek, in a deep ravine a few miles above the city.

The fact that in our midst exists one of the most imposing and wonderful structures which engineering skill could devise, appears not be known to, or at least appreciated by, the people of our city or the hosts of visitors and sightseers who come to Washington.

The initiatory step in the matter was taken on April 21, 1852, when Congress, in the appropriation act of that date, inserted the following provision:

"To enable the President to cause the necessary surveys, projects, and estimates to be made for determining the best means of affording the cities of Washington and Georgetown an unfailing and abundant supply of good and wholesome water, report thereof to be made to Congress at its next session, the sum of \$5,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary." (10 Stat., 92.)

Following this, on March 3, 1853, an appropriation of \$100,000 was made, the same to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, for the

purpose of bringing water into the city of Washington, upon such plan and from such places as he might approve (10 Stat., 206).

March 3, 1855, an appropriation of \$250,000 was made for continuing the work (10 Stat., 664).

August 18, 1856, another \$250,000 was appropriated (11 ib., 86).

March 3, 1857, a further appropriation was made "for continuing Washington Aqueduct, \$1,000,000" (ib., 225), and on June 12, 1858, \$800,000 additional was appropriated (ib., 323).

The act of March 3, 1859 (ib., 435), is a general law providing for the care and preservation of the works mentioned. No appropriation was made, but, among other things, it created the office of "Engineer of the Potomac Water-works."

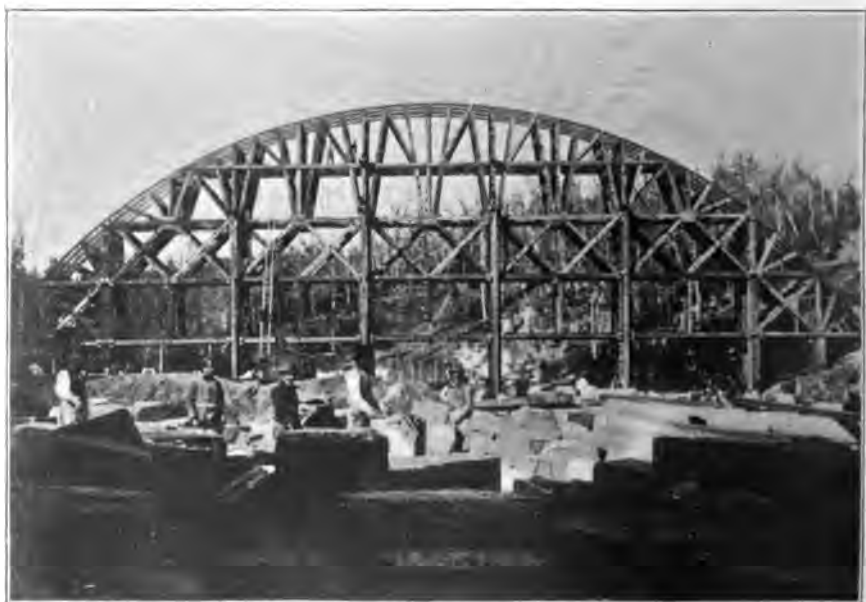
June 25, 1860, the following provision was embodied in the appropriation act of that date (12 ib., 106):

"For completion of the Washington Aqueduct, \$500,000, to be expended according to the plans and estimates of Captain Meigs and under his superintendence: *Provided*, That the office of engineer of the Potomac water-works is hereby abolished, and the duties shall hereafter be discharged by the chief engineer of the Washington Aqueduct."

The day following the approval of the appropriation act last above mentioned, President Buchanan transmitted to Congress a message wherein he complained that the clause in said act providing that the money should be expended under the superintendence of Captain Meigs was an interference with the prerogatives and rights of the President "to be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," as it virtually directed that the money could not be expended unless Captain Meigs superintended its disbursement. The President contended that he still had the right, notwithstanding that clause, to send Captain Meigs



APPEARANCE DURING THE WINTER OF 1857-'58.



SHOWING GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE WORK.



FIGURE 1. JOURNAL OF THE RIVER.



FIGURE 2. THE CHARACTER OF THE RIVER.

away from Washington, to any part of the Union, to superintend the erection of fortifications or other public works.

Captain Montgomery C. Meigs had shown such marked ability in the conduct of this great undertaking that Congress, by the use of the language in the act, merely intended to thus express its approval of his labors, and that he continue in the charge thereof, but not in any wise to restrict the constitutional powers of the President. However, it is worthy of notice that a few days after the message mentioned, Captain Meigs was relieved of the charge of the aqueduct, and in July, 1860, he was ordered to Fort Jefferson, Tortugas, Florida, in connection with the public works at that place. He remained there but a few months, returning in February, 1861.

Captain Meigs assumed charge of the work at its inception, after the appropriation of \$5,000 was made in 1852. The surveys, projects, and estimates for the general system of water supply for the city which is now in use, were prepared by him. (See his report of February 12, 1853, S. Ex. Doc. 48, 2d sess. 32d Congress.) Many difficulties arose in its construction—valleys had to be arched and hills required to be tunnelled in order to provide for the conduit; but the engineering genius and force of Captain Meigs was equal to the occasion.

The most serious obstacle encountered was at Cabin John run. The ravine was too wide and deep to fill, and the only solution was an aqueduct over the valley. At first it was decided to span it with a bridge of masonry supported on a series of piers and arches, at an estimated cost of \$72, 409, considerably below the ultimate cost of the present structure. (See p. 26 S. Ex. Doc. 48, 2d sess. 32d Congress, *supra*.) Subsequently this plan was changed, and it was determined that the

present magnificent affair should be constructed, to excel any structure of its kind on earth, and at the same time to be a lasting and imperishable monument to the genius of its engineer and to the possibilities of modern bridge building. To the day of his death, Captain Meigs was proud of his achievement.

Early in the year 1857, before any work had been done on the bridge or its foundations, he sought for a man possessed of practical experience in the construction of heavy masonry, to act as general superintendent and inspector, whose duty it should be to supervise the construction, to see to the progress of the work, and that all the many and complex details were carried out to the letter.

I may say, with pardonable pride, that my father, Mr. Charles T. Curtis, was selected by Captain Meigs to fill this important and responsible position. Mr. Curtis had had long experience and training under Col. Thayer in the building of Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, and afterwards in connection with the construction of the Boston Aqueduct. He took charge of the work early in 1857, and continued in his position until 1863, when the bridge was practically complete. He then went to New England, in connection with other public works, such as fortifications and sea-walls, and until his death, which took place in 1893, he was actively engaged upon public works of a similar character, having devoted a period of over 50 years of his life in the service of the Government. Much of the data I now relate relative to the bridge I have heard and obtained from his own lips, and from his papers now in my possession.

Although a small child at the time my father was in charge of the construction of the bridge, I remember quite distinctly the appearance of the work as it pro-



December 6, 1898. Two days after the Anom was killed.

gressed, the host of workmen, and the mass of stone, lumber, and other material used in its construction. To see the completed bridge as it is to-day in all its beauty, the lovely valley and creek beneath, and the forest trees, one can scarcely realize the place of that day and the present to be the same.

In order to provide for the transportation by water of the stone and other material, a large dam was built across the creek a short distance above the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, and a lock was constructed at that point to permit boats to be floated into the pond, which, at that time, filled the valley beneath the bridge. Remains of the lock and dam can be seen to-day, and in place of the pond as it then existed a beautiful grove of trees has grown, changing the entire landscape.

The first work upon the bridge proper began early in 1857, and consisted in clearing away the underbrush and débris on the contemplated site of the structure as shown by the survey. The soil was removed until rock foundation was reached. This, in turn, was blasted away until the solid ledge of the hill was exposed. All disintegrated portions were removed, the surface smoothed off, and a proper face made for the reception of the arch by a hydraulic bed of cement and broken stone.

As the superstructure was to be very massive, it required a correspondingly heavy center or trestle to support it during construction. This trestle rested upon a series of stone piers, which piers still remain, and are now used as the support for a rustic foot bridge over the creek.

In addition to the main trestle a further framework was constructed to carry a system of traveling cranes, by which means the stone was transported to various

portions of the structure as it was used. The remains of the piers carrying this framework for the cranes can also be seen in the valley, outside of the lines of the bridge.

The work was rapidly pushed, so that on December 4, 1858, the arch was keyed, and by July 1, 1859, the voussoirs, or arch stones, as well as a considerable portion of the abutments, were in position. As before stated, Captain Meigs was in charge of the bridge and the aqueduct from the date of the first survey, in 1852, until July 1860, when he was relieved by orders of the War Department, and Captain Henry W. Benham, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., was placed in charge. Captain Benham remained in control but a very short time, and he in turn was succeeded by Lieutenant James St. C. Morton, of the same corps, who was subsequently killed during the siege of Petersburg, Va., on June 17, 1864.

February 22, 1861, just before the breaking out of the Civil War and after an absence of only six or seven months, Captain Meigs returned from Fort Jefferson, and again assumed charge of the work on the bridge and aqueduct, and the same were practically completed by him as chief engineer.

At the breaking out of the war considerable anxiety was felt by those in authority lest the Confederates should set fire to the center or trestle, and so destroy the arch; and some time in May, 1861, the trestle was removed.

On account of the immense amount of business of the War Department by reason of the war, and to relieve that department of this extra duty, on June 18, 1862 (12 Stat., 620), Congress adopted a joint resolution transferring the supervision of the Potomac water-works to the Department of the Interior, and directed



SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK ON JULY 1, 1860.



PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN FEBRUARY 27, 1861.



ENDING THE REBELS OF THE WEST ON JULY 1, 1871

that the work should be completed under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. It so remained until 1867, when it was again transferred to the War Department, where it is to-day, under the charge of the able engineer, Captain D. DuB. Gaillard.

On December 5, 1863, the water was turned into the aqueduct, but the bridge proper was not completed until the following year. While this was the first water passing through the aqueduct from the Potomac River at the Great Falls, yet on January 3, 1859, water was introduced into the city by means of small mains or supply pipes from the receiving reservoir above Georgetown.

The present parapet walls are built of red sandstone, from the quarries at Seneca on the Potomac, and were constructed in 1872-73. From 1864 until that time the only protection for teams and pedestrians was a low guard-rail of timbers or logs.

From about May or June, 1861, until July, 1862, a period of little over one year, active work upon the bridge ceased, owing to the Civil War then waging.

Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, in his report to the President, November 29, 1862, speaking of the Potomac water-works, says:

"On the 15th of July last the supervision of this work was transferred from the War Department to this department, under the authority of a joint resolution of Congress. The work was suspended in the spring of 1861, and was not resumed until after its transfer to this department. Since that time the work has been in progress, and it is estimated that it may be completed by the 1st of July, 1863.
* * *

"All the work, which will be done under the direction of W. R. Hutton, Esq., the present engineer, will be in accordance with the plans of General Meigs, which have received the sanction of Congress."

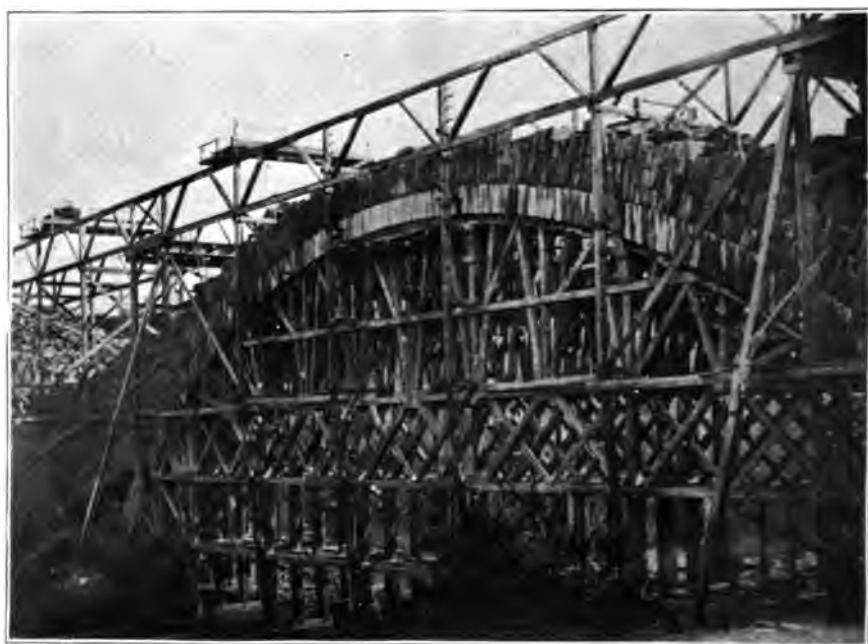
In May, 1861, Captain Meigs became quartermaster-general, with his headquarters in Washington, and when the work was resumed in the summer of 1862,

under the orders of the Secretary of the Interior, General Meigs ceased to have any further charge of the work, and Mr. William R. Hutton was thereupon appointed chief engineer, who held the position until July, 1863, when he was succeeded by Mr. Silas Seymour.

Mr. Seymour, in his annual report to Hon. John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, under date of October 1, 1863, says:

"Before closing this report, I deem it proper as an act of justice to the gentlemen who have preceded me as engineer in charge of this great national work, as well as a matter of historic interest, to state that the Washington Aqueduct was originally projected upon its present general plan and location by Brigadier General Montgomery C. Meigs, now Quartermaster General of the United States Army; and that the work, so far as executed (with the exception of a portion of the dam in the Potomac, and the water facings of the distributing reservoir), has been done in accordance with the plans and specifications prepared by him and generally under his own supervision."

To-day this noble structure is without a rival on earth as far as an arch or span of masonry is concerned. It is 450 feet long over all, including the abutments. It has a single span of 220 feet, and a rise of 57.26 feet. The radii of the intrados and extrados of the granite ring are, respectively, 134.2852 feet and 143.2695 feet. It is 4.2 feet thick at the crown, 20.4 feet wide, and carries a brick conduit 9 feet in diameter. There are 11,914.18 cubic yards of masonry, 852.66 cubic yards of concrete, and 516 cubic yards of brickwork used in its construction. The cut stone arch, or ring, is of Quincy (Mass.) granite, shipped to Georgetown by vessels, and thence to the bridge by way of the canal. The rubble arch and spandrels are Seneca sandstone, and the abutments are gneiss from Montgomery county, Maryland. The arch stones are each 2 feet thick, 4.2 feet deep at the crown, and 6.2 feet at the springing line. The surface of the roadway is



CONDITION OF THE BRIDGE DURING THE SPRING OF 1861, SHOWING THE
MASSIVE CHARACTER OF THE CENTER.



AUGUST 12, 1861, SHORTLY AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE CENTER.

place, to the north of the river, a
small, rectangular, stone building,
about 12 x 10 ft., with a thatched
roof and a porch.

It is a small, simple building.

Called by the people

• The building is built on a
small, rectangular, stone foundation,
about 12 x 10 ft., with a thatched
roof and a porch.

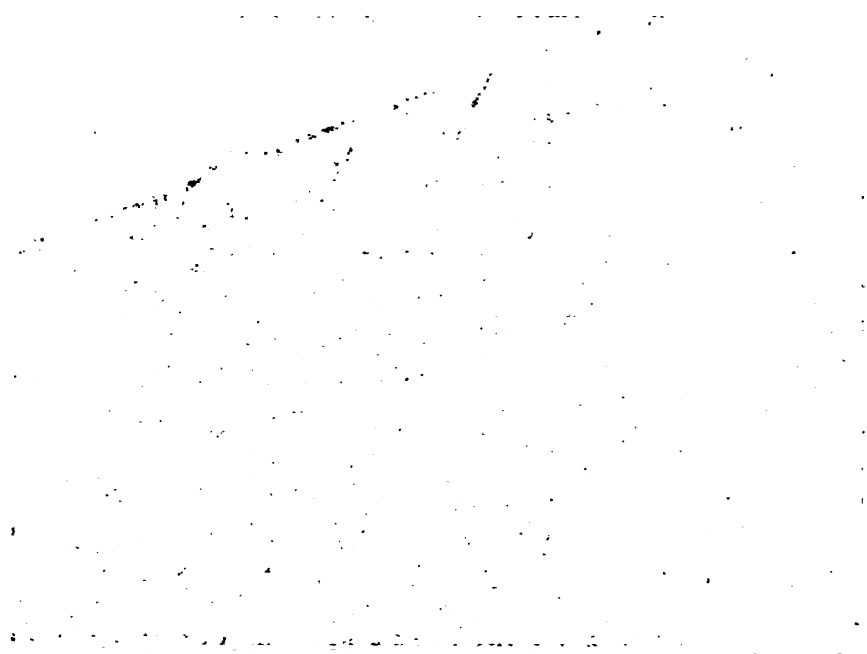
It is a small, simple building,
about 12 x 10 ft., with a thatched
roof and a porch.

And to the north of the river,
of the building is built on a
small, rectangular, stone foundation,
about 12 x 10 ft., with a thatched
roof and a porch.

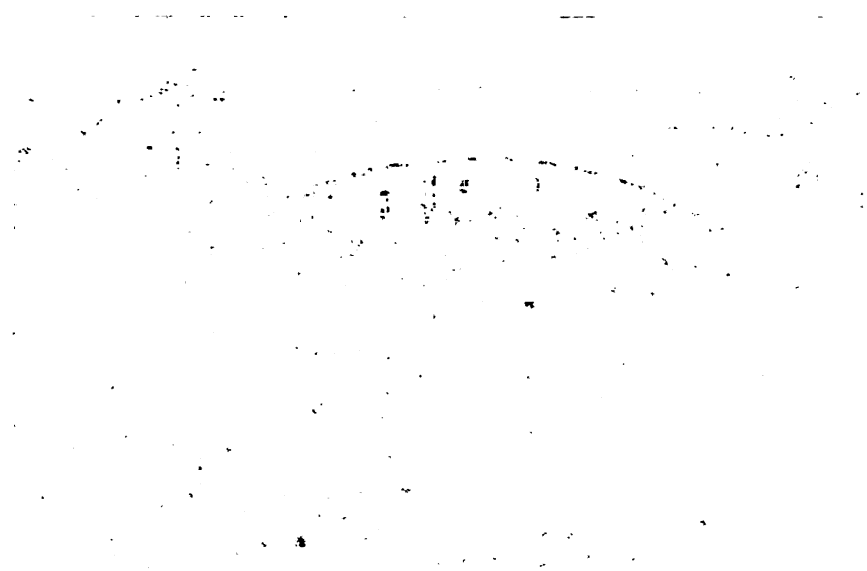
It is a small, simple building,
about 12 x 10 ft., with a thatched
roof and a porch.

Wounded by the river, it
river is 5 meters wide.

It is built of sandstone, with
beams of wood, and a thatched
roof, and a porch. It is built
on a small, rectangular, stone
foundation, about 12 x 10 ft.,
with a thatched roof and a porch.
It is a small, simple building,
about 12 x 10 ft., with a thatched
roof and a porch.



VIEW OF THE BRIDGE DURING THE SPRING OF 1900 SHOWING THE
MASSIVE CHARACTER OF THE ARCHES.



about 100 feet above the bottom of the ravine. The total cost of the bridge, including the parapet walls, was about \$254,000. These figures are from the official records and reports.

History records one bridge or stone arch larger than Cabin John. It spanned the Adda, a tributary of the Po, at Trezzo, in northern Italy. The date of the construction of this bridge cannot be determined with accuracy. One authority states that it was constructed in the year A. D. 1380 by order of the Duke of Milan, and was destroyed by the Italian general Carmagnola in 1427. This bridge consisted of a single stone arch of granite, with a span of 251 feet, 31 feet more than that of Cabin John. It had a rise of 88 feet, and at the crown was only 4 feet thick. The name of the engineer is unknown. Prof. Ira O. Baker, in his *Treatise on Masonry Construction*, gives the same dates as to when the bridge was constructed and destroyed, and also the figures concerning its dimensions.

Within the last few years several large masonry bridges have been constructed in Europe, very similar in design to that of Cabin John. The most important of these is the Jaremcze railway viaduct over the river Pruth, in Galicia, on the line of the Austrian Stanislaw-Woronienka railroad, having a single arch over the river of 65 meters span (213½ feet), with a rise of 58 feet. It is built of sandstone, with a thickness of 6 feet 10½ inches at the crown and 10 feet 2 inches at the skew-backs, and is 14 feet 9 inches wide. The main arch consists of two thicknesses of dimension stones, which head into each other, while the spandrel arches are built of rubble masonry. It is stated to have cost only \$40,400, due mainly to the low price of labor and the abundance of material in the immediate vicinity, such as the stone, and the timber used in the construction of the falseworks.

The Lavaur bridge in France, on the line of the Limoges and Brives Railway, is of the same general design as the Jaremcze structure. It has a single span of 61.50 meters (201 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet).

The largest span stone arch in Great Britain is the famous Grosvenor Bridge over the River Dee at Chester, England, having a span of 200 feet.

The Ballochmyle viaduct on the Glasgow and South Western Railway has a span of 180 feet.

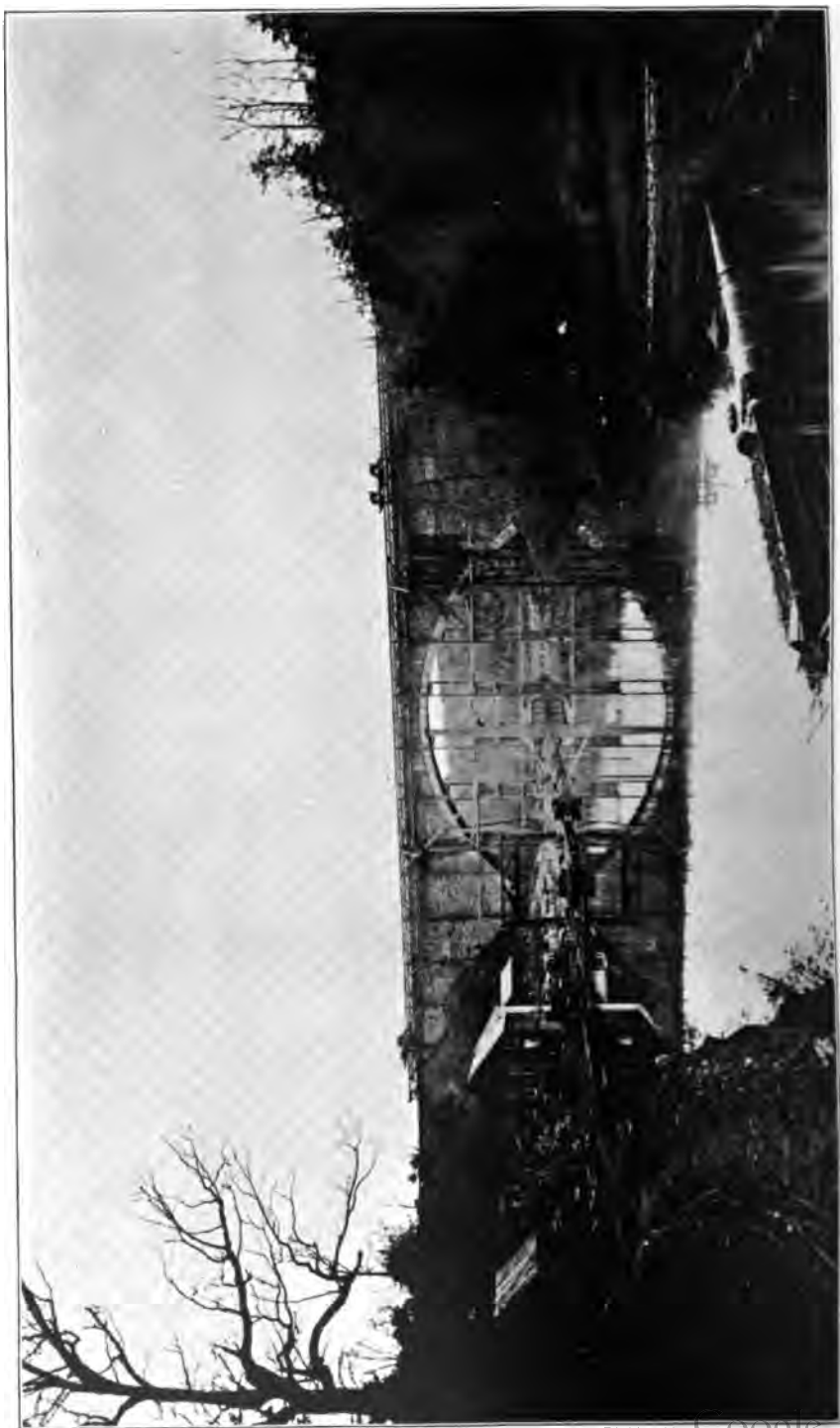
[See paper on Masonry bridges by Von Karl Von Leibbrand, Leipzig, 1897. Also Vol. 85, p. 63 of "Engineering," London, issue of January 21st, 1898; also Vol. 25, p. 852 Railroad Gazette (N. Y.), issue of Nov. 24th, 1893, and Vol. 27, p. 308, same publication, issue of May 17th, 1895.]

On p. 159 of Vol. 53, "Engineering," Feb. 5th, 1892, it is stated, referring to Cabin John Bridge, that, "this bridge is second only in span to the one over the Adda already referred to, and is, I believe, the longest span for a stone arch now standing."

See also article by Robert Jamison on Famous Bridges of the World appearing in Vol. 20, p. 553 Chautauquan 1894-95, wherein he says that nothing now remains of the Adda bridge at Trezzo, except a small portion of the arch.

All the authorities, however, agree that "Cabin John" stands to-day unrivaled, the nearest approach to it being the aforementioned bridge over the Pruth at Jaremcze, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet less in span.

The working plans and drawings of Cabin John Bridge, as well as much of the detail work of that character up to the spring of 1861, which are now on file in the office of the Washington Aqueduct, and the War Department, appear to have been prepared and performed mainly by Mr. Alfred L. Rives, the assistant



DECEMBER 6, 1903. THE DAY WHEN THE WATER WAS FIRST TURNED INTO THE AGUSBUOY.

ingénieur, who was a graduate of the *École Polytechnique* in Paris. In the same year, 1870, when the War broke out, he joined the army, and was killed in the battle of Orléans, where he was shot in the head while leading his troops. As a result, he was buried in the cemetery of the Invalides, and his name was inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe, which was a great honor. When they were in the cemetery, the children were told to be careful of their behavior, and that Mr. Kays was a very important person, and that he was a hero. They were also told to be careful of their behavior, and that they should not be disrespectful to the authorities. He is the most important person in the family, and the author of the book.

After a resignation of Mr. K. to the Governor, the State Board of Agriculture, which had been organized by Mr. K., was organized. Although the work was resumed under the management of the Governor, the Interior Department had no influence there. At present the Government is not in a position to challenge the authority of the State Government. Mr. Livingston is the only member of his party in the

What was he told? He was told that the President was concerned that the administration was not doing enough to protect Jefferson Davis, the ex-Confederate President, from the radicals. He was told that the President was concerned that the radicals might be charged with conspiring to assassinate him, and they called for Jefferson Davis to be placed in the White House, which was the only place where he could be kept safe at that time. He said,

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engineer, who was a graduate of the *Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées* in Paris. At the breaking out of the Civil War Mr. Rives resigned his position, went south, and joined hands with the Confederacy, an act on his part which caused Captain Meigs to feel very much affronted, and which may account for certain orders of Captain Meigs referred to hereafter. I am informed that Mr. Rives is engaged in his profession somewhere in Central America, and possesses a very high reputation as an engineer. He is the father of Amelie Rives, the authoress.

After the resignation of Mr. Rives, in 1861, he was succeeded by Mr. William R. Hutton, and in 1862, when work was resumed under the direction of the Department of the Interior, Mr. Hutton became the chief engineer. At present he is a very prominent and successful civil engineer in the city of New York. The famous Washington Bridge over the Harlem river is but one of his productions.

Much has been said and written during late years concerning the erasure from the bridge of the name of Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War during the administration of President Pierce. At the time of the death of General Meigs, in 1892, several articles were published charging him with being the author of the erasure, and they called forth several denials from his friends. On September 8th of that year a card appeared in one of our local papers over the name of Mr. Hutton, which is of interest to note, coming, as it does, from one so intimately connected with the bridge at that time. He says:

"In June, 1862, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Caleb B. Smith, to whose department the aqueduct had just been transferred, I accompanied the Secretary and a number of Members of Congress on a tour of inspection of the aqueduct by way of the canal. Opposite Cabin John several of the party disembarked, and

walked to the bridge for a nearer view. Returning in hot haste, 'Do you know', said Hon. Galusha Grow to the Secretary, 'that rebel Meigs has put Jeff. Davis's name on the bridge?' Turning to me, the Secretary said: 'The first order I give you is to cut Jeff. Davis's name off the bridge.' A few days later I was appointed chief engineer of the aqueduct. Not taking seriously the Secretary's remarks, I did nothing in the matter. A week later Mr. Robert McIntyre, the contractor, arrived to resume his work upon the bridge, and called to pay his respects to the Secretary. The Secretary said to him that they had put Jeff. Davis's name on the bridge, and he wished he would cut it off, 'With the greatest pleasure, Mr. Secretary,' was the reply, and the contractor's first work was to remove Mr. Davis's name."

Mr. Charles T. Curtis, who was superintendent and inspector at that time, has often stated to me that General Meigs had nothing whatever to do with the erasure mentioned, but that it was done by order of the Secretary, and the work of cutting out the name was performed by one of the stone-cutters then at work on the bridge.

The inscription on the west abutment, above mentioned, showing the erasure of the name of Jefferson Davis, is in these words:

Washington Aqueduct.
 Begun A. D. 1853. President of the U. S.,
 Franklin Pierce. Secretary of War,
 Building, A. D. 1861,
 President of the U. S., Abraham Lincoln.
 Secretary of War, Simon Cameron.

Captain Meigs, being apprehensive lest some action might be had looking to his removal as engineer in charge of the aqueduct, and desiring to perpetuate his own name as chief engineer of the bridge, caused the following inscription to be cut, in deep, imperishable letters, upon two of the arch or ring stones near the east abutment:

M. C. MEIGS,
 Chief Engineer, Washington Aqueduct,
 A. D. 1859. *Ferit.*

This was done before the tablets in the east and west abutments had been placed in position, and at a period



VIEW SHOWING ARMY WAGON TRAIN STANDING ON THE ARCH.
WINTER OF 1864-'65.



COMPLETED BRIDGE. AT THE LEFT CAN BE SEEN THE TABLET FROM WHICH THE

1900-1901, S. C.

1901-1902, S. C.
1902-1903, S. C.
1903-1904, S. C.
1904-1905, S. C.
1905-1906, S. C.

1906-1907, S. C.
1907-1908, S. C.
1908-1909, S. C.
1909-1910, S. C.

1910-1911, S. C.
1911-1912, S. C.
1912-1913, S. C.
1913-1914, S. C.

1914-1915, S. C.
1915-1916, S. C.
1916-1917, S. C.
1917-1918, S. C.

1918-1919, S. C.
1919-1920, S. C.
1920-1921, S. C.
1921-1922, S. C.

1922-1923, S. C.
1923-1924, S. C.

1924-1925, S. C.
1925-1926, S. C.

1926-1927, S. C.
1927-1928, S. C.

1928-1929, S. C.
1929-1930, S. C.

1930-1931, S. C.
1931-1932, S. C.

1932-1933, S. C.
1933-1934, S. C.

1934-1935, S. C.
1935-1936, S. C.



VIEW SHOWING ARMY WAGON TRAIN STANDING ON THE ARCH.
WINTER OF 1864-'65.



COMPLETED BRIDGE. AT THE LEFT CAN BE SEEN THE TABLET FROM WHICH THE

VIEW OF WAGON TRAIN STATION ON THE ARIZONA
WAGON TRAIN STATION 4-185

shortly before he was relieved and ordered to Fort Jefferson. His motive apparently was to have the fact indelibly placed on record that he alone was engineer of the noble structure and to him should be given the credit.

In connection with the subject of erasure, there is another interesting historical fact worthy of notice, which I relate substantially as I have often heard it from Mr. Curtis and Mr. Hutton:

Between July, 1860, and February, 1861, a period of only six or seven months, Captain Meigs was absent as above stated, and during this time Captain Henry W. Benham and Lieutenant James St. C. Morton were in charge of the work. An examination of the photographs in my possession, which were taken during the progress of construction, will show that the work on the bridge at this time (July, 1860) was very much advanced. However, during the short period of his supervision, Lieutenant Morton had his own name, as well as that of Captain Benham, cut on the face of two of the arch stones immediately under those bearing the inscription placed there by Captain Meigs, and designating themselves as chief engineers. On his return in February following, Captain Meigs, observing what had been done, gave orders to have their names erased (which was done), contending that it was improper to have their names appear on the bridge as chief engineers, especially as the work performed by them during his absence was simply a continuation of his projects and plans, which had received the approval of Congress. (12 Stats., 106.)

A short time thereafter Captain Meigs had the large tablet in the east abutment placed in position, and caused the following inscription to be cut thereon:

UNION ARCH,
Chief Engineer, Captain Montgomery
C. Meigs, U. S. Corps of Engineers.
Esto perpetua.

It has been stated that, in recognition of the engineering genius of his assistant engineer, Mr. Alfred L. Rives, it was the intention of Captain Meigs to have his name appear on this tablet with his own, and that he had proceeded so far as to have the name of Mr. Rives traced thereon preparatory to cutting it in; but at this juncture Mr. Rives resigned and went south, and as a result the wording was changed, and the above inscription was cut thereon with the name of Mr. Rives omitted.

The origin of the title "Cabin John" as applied to the creek, and likewise to the bridge which spans it, is somewhat shadowy and traditionary. There is a story or legend that at an early date in the century a mysterious character occupied a rough cabin on the banks of the creek, a short distance above the present site of the bridge. The only name he was known by was "John"; sometimes he was spoken of as "John of the Cabin", and also as "Captain John". Upon some of the old records of Montgomery county, Maryland, the name of this creek is given as "*Captain John*". The present name, Cabin John, is either a corruption of "Captain John" or was derived from "John of the Cabin". He is stated to have led the life of a hermit, fishing in the streams and hunting in the neighboring forests being his only means of subsistence. It is said that at a subsequent period, many years ago, he mysteriously disappeared, and nothing was ever known as to his fate. During the days of slavery the old negroes of the vicinity claimed that the ghost of "Cabin John" was often seen by them near his lonely and deserted cabin.

After the erection of the bridge it was commonly known as Cabin John, taking its name from the creek it spanned, although it is specified upon the records as "Union Arch," and is so inscribed upon the tablet on the east abutment.

The history relating to this wonderful bridge and the incidents connected with its construction I have heard so often from the lips of my father that I love to revisit the scene, view its noble span, and recount the many days when but a child I watched its progress. It seems as yesterday, yet in the meantime many of those connected with its construction have passed away.

The years roll by, but the bridge is as solid and as immovable as the everlasting hills, and, as so aptly inscribed on the abutment, *esto perpetua*—it will last forever, and remain for the eyes of generations yet unborn a monument to the genius and inspiration of its engineer, Montgomery C. Meigs. Nor will time obscure or belittle the glory achieved by the mind that conceived its graceful lines, or the credit due to the assistants who directed its construction with so much precision and detail that not a stone has moved or settled to mar its beauty, symmetry, or strength.*

* I am indebted to Prof. W J McGee, Ethnologist in charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for several of the photographs exhibited by me showing the bridge during its construction. The negatives have been preserved and are now on file in said Bureau.

Through the courtesy of General A. W. Greely the writer has been able to obtain several interesting photographs of the bridge.

THE OFFICE OF SURVEYOR OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

By Henry B. Looker.

[Read before the Society February 7th, 1898.]

By the Act of Congress approved July 16, 1790 (U. S. Stats 1, p. 130), after defining the general limits within which the District should be fixed, the President was empowered to appoint three Commissioners to survey and by proper metes and bounds define and limit a district of territory for the permanent seat of the government of the United States. These Commissioners were also empowered to purchase or accept such land as should be needed and to "provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of Congress, and of the President, and for the public offices of the government".

The Commissioners were appointed and under their direction, the District was surveyed and marked; plans for the Federal City were prepared showing the location of the various government buildings; agreements were drawn up and signed by the proprietors of the land selected for the site of the City, by the terms of which there was to be a division of the squares and lots after the city was laid out; architects and contractors were employed upon the public buildings and the survey of the city was proceeded with.

The Act of Congress approved May 1, 1802 (U. S. Stats 2, p. 175) abolished the above mentioned Board of three Commissioners, and provided, as their legal successor, a Superintendent, to be appointed by the

President; and the Commissioners were required to deliver up to such Superintendent "all plans, drafts, books, records, accounts, deeds, grants, contracts, bonds, obligations, securities and other evidences of debt, in their possession, which relate to the city of Washington, and the affairs heretofore under their superintendence or care."

The Act of Congress approved January 13, 1809 (U. S. Stats 3, p. 511) prescribes the duties of the Surveyor of the city of Washington and proceeds as follows:

"Sec. 7. That all records of the division of Squares "and lots heretofore made between the public and original proprietors, or which are authorized by this Act, "shall be kept in the office of the Surveyor of the city "of Washington, and all transcripts therefrom, certified by him, shall be evidence equally valid with the "certified transcripts from the keeper of the office for "recording deeds for the conveyance of land in the "county of Washington."

Section 8 provides that lots or squares belonging to the United States within the city of Washington may be subdivided by the said Surveyor under direction of the President:

Section 9 requires that the Surveyor, shall, before entering upon the duties of his office, take an oath or affirmation before the Mayor of the city of Washington, that he will faithfully and impartially perform his duty.

Down to this time (1809) it is perfectly apparent that the Commissioners and subsequently the Superintendent had the legal custody of *all* the records—maps of the District and of the city, plats of the squares and lots, deeds of the original proprietors, etc., etc., as well as contracts for the erection of buildings, bonds, obligations, and accounts of every sort connected with their duties: but the time had doubtless now been reached

when the "laying out" of the city had been completed, and a division of the records and duties of the Superintendent became not only a natural and logical sequence, but a business necessity.

That it was the intention of Congress in passing the Act of 1809, to bring about just such a division, and to make an absolute and complete separation of the two offices seems clear, from the fact that a new title was given to the Surveyor; his duties were defined and enlarged; he was required to take an oath; he was equipped with the records pertaining to his new office; he was made the only officer whose certificate of transcripts of those records was legal evidence, and he was given the power to subdivide government property as well as that of private individuals.

The Surveyor of the city of Washington thus became the legal successor of the original Commissioners and of the Superintendent, so far as relates to the survey, location, and subdivision of land and the custody of *all* the records (then in the Superintendent's possession) bearing upon such work; and if it can be shown that the present office of Surveyor of the District of Columbia is the legal successor to the office of Surveyor of the city of Washington mentioned in the Act of 1809, it must necessarily follow that this office is entitled to the same records.

Before proceeding to show the continuity of the office of Surveyor, I desire to call attention to the later legislation respecting the Superintendent and his successors.

After the destruction of the Capitol and other government buildings by the British in 1814 the Superintendent was assisted in the labor of rebuilding by three Commissioners.

By Act approved April 29, 1816 (U. S. Stats 3, p. 324) Congress abolished the office of the three Commission-

ers for the superintendence of the Public Buildings, and also the office of Superintendent, and in lieu thereof, provided for the appointment by the President, of one Commissioner, to perform all the duties with which the said three Commissioners and the Superintendent had been charged, and he was to receive from the three Commissioners "all plans, drafts, books, records, accounts, contracts, bonds, obligations, securities and other evidences of debt in their possession, which belong to their office," and from the Superintendent "all documents, securities, books and papers relating to his office." Attention is called to the fact that nothing is said about the transfer of maps or plats of squares and lots to this Commissioner as in the Act of 1809 to the Surveyor.

In the Sundry Civil Bill passed by Congress and approved March 2d, 1867 (U. S. Stats 14, p. 466) the office of Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds was abolished and the Chief of Engineers of the Army was required to perform all duties of the former, and consequently became the custodian of all records *legally* held by said Commissioner, but this law does not specify the transfer of any public property, as is clearly done in the two previous acts transmitting these duties. The Chief of Engineers in his report of 1895, referring to this Act of March 2, 1867, says he "thereby became the lawful successor of the "original Commissioners appointed by President Washington in 1791 "and the custodian of the original records." In this conclusion I cannot concur, so far as relates to the records of division of lands in the city of Washington and the maps and plats relating thereto, because, as has been shown above, those maps, plats and records had been diverted from the office of the Superintendent by the Act of 1809.

Now to return to the question of the continuity of the office of Surveyor:—

The first mention made of such an officer, in the statutes, is in the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1803 (U. S. Stats 2, p. 335) fixing the compensation of "the Surveyor."

In the Act approved March 27, 1804 (U. S. Stats 3, p. 397) the compensation of "the Surveyor" is fixed at \$3.00 a day, to be paid by the Superintendent, thus showing apparently that the Surveyor was a subordinate of the Superintendent at that time, though quite possibly a direct appointee of the President during the whole period from 1796 to 1815,—data as to Nicholas King giving color to this view, and there being nothing to controvert it in any of the records I have been able to reach.

In 1802 (U. S. Stats No. 2, p. 195) by Act approved May 3 (or two days after the approval of the Act constituting the office of Superintendent) Congress authorized the incorporation of the city of Washington, the council being elective, the Mayor to be appointed by the President. The Mayor was authorized to appoint all officers under the corporation, and therefore *presumably* the Surveyor of the city.

Then comes the Act of 1809 concerning the office of Surveyor of the city of Washington (so called, for the first time in any Act of Congress) and requiring that officer to qualify by taking an oath of office before the Mayor of the city of Washington.

It would seem that this Act paved the way for the transfer of the Surveyor's office, from under the control of the General government to that of the municipal government, for, although the office was probably still under at least the nominal control of the general government, the Surveyor's services were doubtless chiefly

needed by the city government and the citizens generally.

Nicholas King, who had long been a Surveyor under the Commissioners and the Superintendent, was the first person appointed "Surveyor of the City of Washington" and his signatures in Record Book "N. K." also in Book 1 of Division of Squares, (records of the Surveyor's office) show clearly that he signed as such from August 1809 until July 1811. He was succeeded by his son Robert King, who signs as surveyor of the city of Washington until December 10, 1812.

For the next two years and a half, so far as the records of this office are concerned, there does not appear to have been any work for a Surveyor of the city of Washington. At any rate there are no surveys recorded or signed during that time, but under date of August 3, 1815, the Council of Washington passed an ordinance, (13th Council Chap. 32, p. 28,) doubtless in pursuance of the original Act of Incorporation of May 3, 1802, directing the Mayor to appoint "a citizen, resident of the city, who shall be styled and known as the Surveyor of the city of Washington."

Benjamin H. Latrobe was the first appointed under the new régime, and he was succeeded by others appointed in the same way, continuously until 1848, when by Act of Congress approved May 17, 1848 (U. S. Stats 9, p. 223) the charter of the city was amended and the Surveyor made an elective officer.

Section 8 of this Act provided that "the office of the "Surveyor of the city of Washington shall be the legal "office of record of the plats of all the property in the "city of Washington."

The Surveyor was elected by the people from 1848 to 1871, the date of inception of the Territorial form of government, under which the Governor of the District

of Columbia appointed the "Surveyor of the District of Columbia." Subsequently, and to the present time, the Surveyor of the District of Columbia has been appointed by the Commissioners of the District.

In view of the provisions of the Act of 1809 and of Section 8 of the Act of 1848 it seems very difficult to reach any other conclusion than that the office of Surveyor is the proper repository of *all* the original records affecting in any way the determination of the location and boundaries of any parcel of land within the city of Washington whether public or private. The Acts of 1809, 1836, 1848 and 1895 show clearly the legal continuity of the office to the present day.

Even if there had been a period between Dec. 1812 and Aug. 1815 during which there was no incumbent of the office (a point by no means certain) there was no lapse of the office itself, and this possible question is removed by the recognition of the office by the Act of 1848.

The Surveyor's office is the recognized source of information as to all things relating to the location and boundaries of land in the District of Columbia, and should have in its possession all records bearing upon the work of the office. I think it clear that Congress never intended these original land records to be divided between two offices. Whatever there be of legal authority for their custody, must, in my opinion, apply to them as an entirety unless otherwise specifically provided.

Without exception, the title companies and the members of the bar can be safely said to be in favor of the custody of those records by the Surveyor. This office is frequently compelled, in order to settle a doubtful question, to send to the War Department for certified copies of divisions of Squares, the originals of which

are in the office of the Officer in charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, the bound copies in the Surveyor's office being sometimes found defective either by omission or error. And this must be done, although this office is the only office empowered by law to furnish certified copies of all these records, (which certified copies must be accepted as final evidence). Without permission obtained through the usual official channels the Surveyor cannot verify the certified copies from the War Department, by comparison with the originals, and possible mistakes in such certified copies might subject the Surveyor to heavy loss under his bond. The four bound volumes of copies of original division of Squares in the Surveyor's office have been here for nearly 90 years. They are in daily use, and without them it would be impossible to transact the business of the office. A recent decision of the Circuit Court in the case of Ashley vs. Bradshaw has pronounced these copies to be originals or practically originals, but this does not relieve the Surveyor of responsibility under his bond in the event of his making a possible mistake through an error in such copies.

The Chief of Engineers of the Army as successor to the Superintendent certainly did not obtain these land records by particular designation; the Surveyor *did*, by the terms of the Act of 1809, so obtain them.

The Act of 1848, clearly confirms, after an interval of 39 years, the Act of 1809 as to the custody of the records of division of squares by the Surveyor.

Why the Surveyor did not at once exercise his legal right to call for and obtain his own records in their entirety does not now appear, nor is it material. Mr. William Forsyth, my immediate predecessor, did, however, strenuously maintain throughout his whole term

of office, covering nearly forty years, that the Surveyor's office should contain all these records.

It seems clear to me, that the division prompted by convenience and propriety was intended to be made by the Act of 1809, viz: the Surveyor should take all that he would naturally require, and that the Superintendent should retain such as were necessary for the care and preservation of the Public Buildings and Grounds, which care was his particular duty. As that division was not made then, it should, in my opinion, be made now, by the transfer to the Surveyor's office, of all records under the control of the Chief of Engineers, relating in any way to the original boundaries of land in the city of Washington.

The names of all the incumbents of the office of Surveyor, so far as I have been able to determine,—with the dates of appointment, are given chronologically as follows:

Nicholas King, Mar. 1st 1809.
 Robt. King, June 12th 1812.
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